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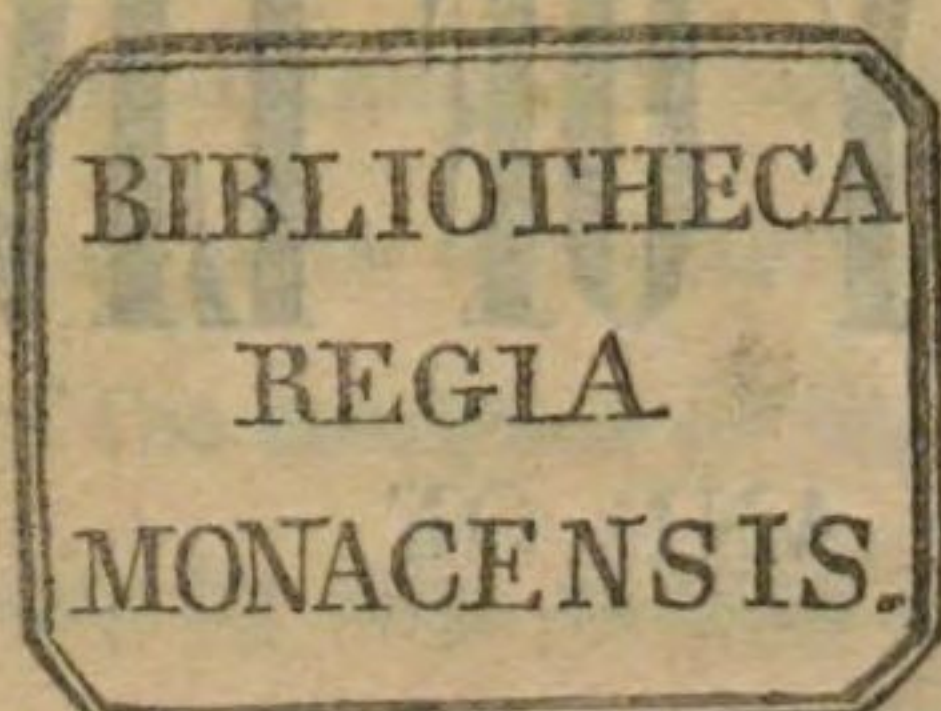
H I S T O R Y

OF

LIVERPOOL.

62 G E/25

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AND ALL BOOKSELLERS.



BY THOMAS BAINES.

Plan of the Section.

During the last few years Liverpool has advanced with rapid steps to the position of the first port of the empire; and in several branches of trade it has greatly surpassed London itself. It is not, however, the only port which has taken place the progress of its rise chiefly to the goods which it has taken place during the same period in the manufacture of Lancashire and of those districts of Cheshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, Derbyshire and Yorkshire which supply the Port of the Mersey as the western outlet for the products which are destined to the whole world. The Mersey and its tributaries of course have created an excellent position, a port worthy of carrying on so great a trade; and have supplied every facility of communication with foreign countries which ingenuity, enterprise and capital could devise or desire. The geographical position of all these districts is such as to place them in direct communication with the rest of the world, both as relates to the convenience of steamships, and that of passengers, and has attained a large and increasing share of the trade of Europe, Asia and Africa; and of the newly created regions of America. Liverpool is thus the point at which the interests of a vast internal

THE HISTORY OF LIVERPOOL :

AND OF

THE RISE OF MANUFACTURES, MINING, AND AGRICULTURE, IN THOSE DISTRICTS OF LANCASHIRE, CHESHIRE, STAFFORDSHIRE, DERBYSHIRE, AND YORKSHIRE, WHICH EMPLOY LIVERPOOL AS THEIR PRINCIPAL PORT OF COMMUNICATION WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

BY THOMAS BAINES.

Plan of the Work.

During the last fifty years Liverpool has advanced with rapid steps to the position of the first out-port of the empire ; and in several branches of commerce it has greatly surpassed London itself. Liverpool has owed the rapidity and the greatness of its rise chiefly to the wonderful growth which has taken place during the same period in the Manufactures of Lancashire, and of those districts of Cheshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, Derbyshire and Yorkshire, which employ the Port of the Mersey as the western outlet for the products which they furnish to the whole world. The Merchants and Inhabitants of Liverpool have created, in an indifferent position, a port worthy of carrying on so great a trade ; and have supplied every facility of communication with foreign countries which ingenuity, enterprise, and capital could devise or create. By the steady application of all these means to the development of the Commerce of Liverpool, it has become the great point of communication with the New World, both as relates to the conveyance of Manufactures, and that of Passengers, and has attained a large and increasing share of the trade of Europe, Asia, and Africa ; and of the newly-settled regions of Australia. Liverpool is thus the point at which the interests of a vast internal

population, and those of the most distant foreign nations meet and unite. Although the great growth of the port has taken place during the present century, and although its commerce was extremely small in ancient times, yet it was a very faithful index of the condition of the surrounding districts even at that time. It has risen, step by step, as they have risen ; and in tracing the history of its enterprise we are tracing the history of their industry and skill. It has been the object of this Work to keep both the internal and the external causes of improvement constantly in view, and thus to furnish a faithful account not merely of local events, but of their bearing on the interests of the surrounding districts and on foreign countries.

The First Section of the Work, now published, will be found to be written on this plan.

It will be seen that a considerable part of that Section has been devoted to a description of the natural resources of that portion of the North-western counties of England, of which Liverpool is the outlet. The other portion has been devoted to an account of the early History of Liverpool, and of the charters, which gave the first impulse to the Trade of the Port. The other Six Sections will be written on the same plan, so that the Work, when complete, will contain a full account of the Rise of Liverpool and its Inhabitants ; and, at the same time, of its relations with the populous and industrious Districts of the Interior, and with Foreign Countries, which have created its prosperity, and gives general interest to its history.

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PLAN
OF THE
TOWN AND HARBOUR
OF
LIVERPOOL,
WITH THE
DIVISION OF PROPERTY,
ABOUT 1670.

Moore



ATH

OR

Road to Dye House well

Marsh Head
Now Cleveland Square

COMMON

The Road to the Park

SEA
LAKE

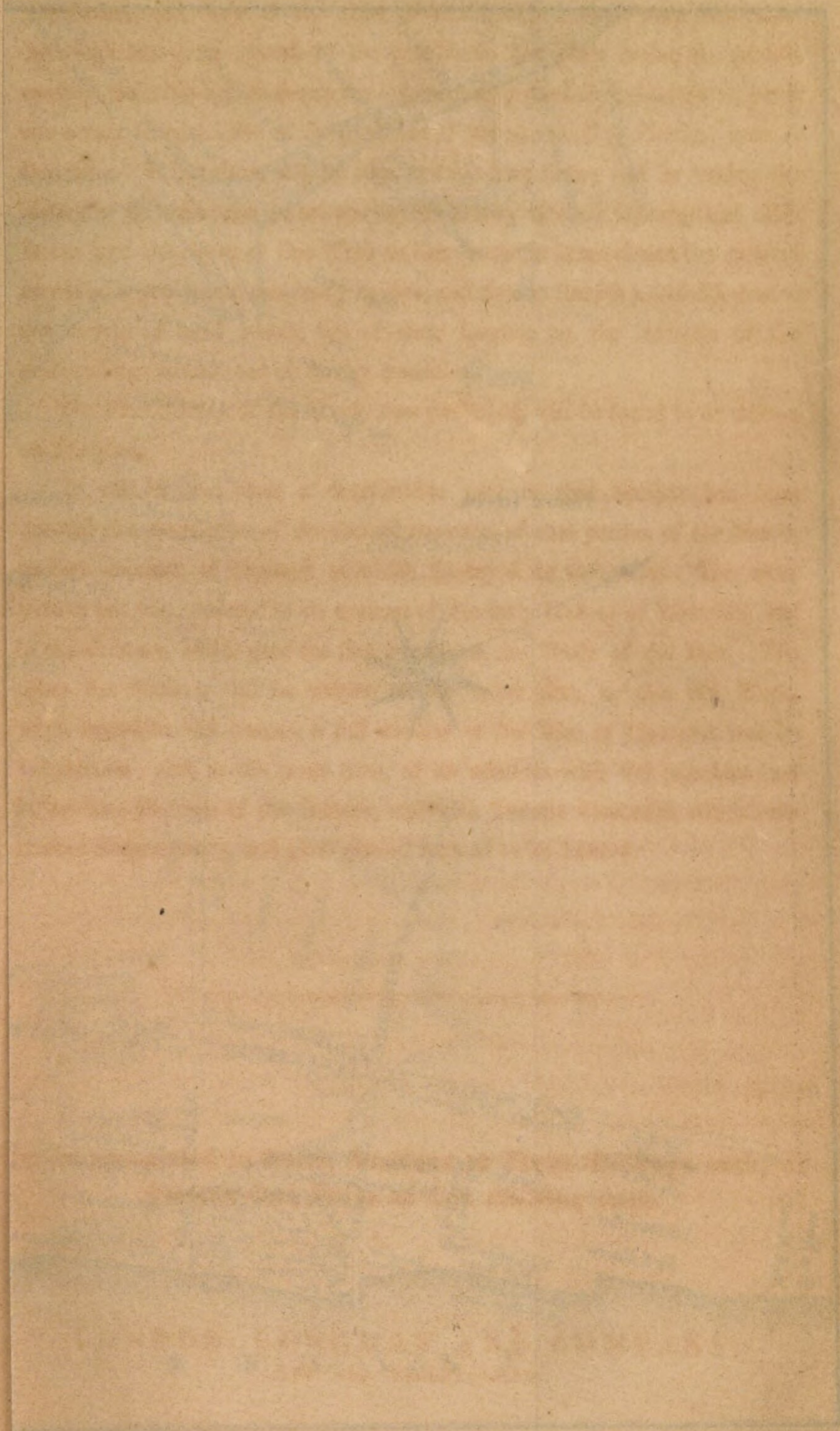
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Sir E. Moore

Puckington Point



HISTORY OF LIVERPOOL.

CHAPTER FIRST.

NATURAL RESOURCES OF THE COUNTRY AROUND LIVERPOOL.

ENGLAND produces a greater number of articles, suited to the purposes of Commerce, than any other country of equal extent. It is alike rich in animal, vegetable, and mineral products; in articles useful for the support of life, and in materials applicable to the purposes of industry. As early as the time of the Anglo-Saxons, when the agriculture of England was rude, and when its manufactures were still ruder, the merchants of Cologne, and other large cities of Germany, visited the southern parts of the island to purchase the wool of the numerous flocks of sheep, which roamed over its downs and pastures;* and after the Norman Conquest, the Venetians and Florentines encountered the perils of an ocean voyage, to supply the looms of Italy, from the same abundant store.† The insular position of England saves it alike from the extremes of heat and cold; and gives it, if not the perpetual spring, which poets dream of, the mildness of climate which is most favourable to the growth of every description of herbage, and to the development of animal life. Its pastures are not burnt up in summer by those long droughts, which destroy millions of sheep, and multitudes of cattle, on the dry plains of Africa and Australia; neither are they laid bare, in the winter months, by the intense cold, which withers every blade of grass, on the boundless plains of Poland and the Ukraine, and renders it needful to house-feed and shelter all domestic animals for five or six months of every year. Hence England has ever been celebrated as a pastoral country. The quantity of wool, at present yielded by its numerous flocks, is more than a hundred millions of pounds weight per year;† and it must also have been very great, both in weight and value, in those remote times, when five-sixths of the

* Macpherson's *Annals of Commerce*, i., 288.

+ Daru's *Venice*, iii., 154.

† 463,168 packs of 240 lbs.=111,160,320.—*J. R. McCulloch's Account of the British Empire*, i., 505.

country lay open, and was grazed by flocks and herds. We may judge of the rapid rate at which the resources of pastoral countries are developed, from the facts, that the few thousand sheep, which have been turned loose on the plains of Australia during the last half century, have increased to between six and seven millions; that they already furnish upwards of twenty million pounds weight of wool, for export, every year;* and that under the influence of this rapid increase of pastoral wealth, large towns are already springing up, on the coasts of Australia, at points which had never been visited by civilized man at the commencement of the present century. The great English ports of ancient times—London, Bristol, Lynn, and Hull—owed nearly as much of their commercial prosperity to the wool trade of England, as Sydney, Melbourne, and Adelaide owe to that of Australia. They were the outlets of the richest valleys, and the finest sheepwalks, in England: of the valleys of the Thames, the Severn, the Nene and Ouse, and the Trent; and of the fertile hills which encircle them. Upwards of sixty royal orders still remain, issued by the English Kings, from the reign of King John, the founder of Liverpool, to that of Edward the Fourth, regulating the trade in wool, which, if not all models of sound policy, may at least be regarded as proofs of the importance attached to the trade.† In those times parliaments often voted the supplies for the year, in the form of fleeces, lambs, and packs of wool; and the Kings of England negotiated loans on that security. Such was the loan negotiated by that warlike monarch, Edward the Third, with the merchants of the flourishing city of Ipres, in Flanders, which he engaged to repay in the form of a thousand packs of wool, and for the better securing of which, he deposited his cousin, Henry, Earl of Derby, son of the Duke of Lancaster, who was at that time Lord of Liverpool, in the hands of the merchants of that city, who kept him in safe custody, until the people and sheep of England had been sufficiently fleeced, to furnish his ransom.‡ In the 1st of Henry the Fifth, when the national revenue amounted to £55,743, no less than £30,011 was raised by taxes on wool.§

* Southey on Colonial Wools, p. 36.

† For a list of these see the word *Lana*, in the *Index Rerum*, in *Astle's Calendarium Rotulorum Patentium*, p. 333.

‡ “The King, to the Sheriffs, and Collectors of Wool, &c. greeting:—Since our beloved Matthew Conaceon and his Associates, the merchants of the Society of the Leopards, have undertaken to liberate our beloved relative, and faithful subject, Henry of Lancaster, Earl of Derby, who for certain debts of ours is detained in prison, in foreign parts, we, as a reward of their goodwill, graciously concede to them, that they may export a thousand sacks of Wool, out of our Kingdom to the parts of Flanders.”—*Cotton M.S., Claudius, E.8.*

§ Rymer's *Fœdera*, s. 113.

In the reigns of the early Plantagenet Kings, when Liverpool commenced its career as a port, the northern counties of England were still covered with extensive forests—the resorts of outlaws and wild beasts. They then presented few advantages, even for pasturage, still fewer for agriculture, and scarcely any for commerce. The only manufactures, which existed at that time, were rude fabrics of woollen and flax, which every family prepared for its own use. The natural aspect of the country, north of the river Trent, differs greatly from that of the country to the south of that river. To the south of the Trent, the country undulates gently; and consists of rich valleys, fertile plains, and rounded grassy hills. North of the Trent, a range of barren heights extends, from the banks of that river, to the borders of Scotland, sending out numerous ridges of hills, both to the east and west. The summits of these hills still defy cultivation; and present a long succession of moors, covered with heath and moss. The natural herbage of this great range is too poor for the support of any but the hardiest animals, except in a few districts, such as Craven, in which the mountain limestone reaches the surface, and forms a soil, rich in grass, and well suited for pastoral purposes. Some remains of a military road, formed by the Romans, to keep open the communication between the cities of York and Ribchester, are still to be found on the hills of Craven, and in the valleys of the Ribble and the Wharfe. This road served to maintain an occasional intercourse, from the eastern to the western side of the island, in the Saxon and Norman times. It was near the point where it enters Lancashire, that Roger of Poictou, the first Norman Lord of Lancashire, built the Castle of Clitheroe, to command the pass through the hills.* All the rest of this range is barren, and was formerly almost impassable. Ancient historians inform us, that the hearts of the daring soldiers of William the Conqueror sank within them, as they stood on the summits of these hills, and looked down on the scene of desolation presented by the forests, heaths, and swamps of Lancashire. At that time an immense forest covered the lower part of the hills, on both sides of the chain, and extended far over the broad plains at their base. This forest stretched, under various names, from the Trent and the Dee, to the Cheviot hills. The celebrated forest of Sherwood, the resort of so many daring outlaws, which extended from Nottingham to the centre of Yorkshire, was a portion of it. So were, also, the forests, afterwards known as those of Macclesfield, Delamere, Rossendale, Bowland, Wirral,

* Whittaker's History of Whalley, 184.

and West Derbyshire; the two latter of which encircled the estuary of the Mersey, and extended to the Irish sea. The forest of West Derbyshire included the ground on which the town of Liverpool now stands, and all the surrounding townships, as far as the Sankey Brook, in one direction, and the manor of Formby, in another.* All who resided in this district were subject to the forest laws, which imposed numerous restrictions on agriculture, and forbade the keeping of any sort of stock, which might interfere with the grazing of the King's deer.† At the time when the Domesday survey was made, numerous woods and hawking grounds existed, in the ancient hundred of West Derby; and woods and forests of much greater extent, existed about Warrington, Newton, Salford, Blackburn, and in the hundred of Leyland. The country between the Mersey and the Ribble was then a wilderness of woods, moors, and mosses, relieved here and there by small manor-houses, and plots of cultivated land, varying in extent from 20 to 100 acres. The whole belonged to Edward the Confessor, at the time of his death; and may perhaps have been visited occasionally by that eager lover of the chase.‡ All the Thanes who occupied the different manors, did so on condition of joining in those great hunting parties, called *Stabilitiones*, in which a large tract of country was surrounded by a multitude of persons, who drove the game of the district into a narrow circle, called a *Haia*, where it was slaughtered by the chief hunters, at their pleasure.§ Such a wilderness as I have described was altogether unsuited to the rearing of sheep, although the glades of the forest must have yielded an abundant pasture for cattle. We learn from the account in the Domesday survey, that six herdsmen kept the cattle of Roger of Poitou, in the woods and clearings of West Derby. Cattle, not sheep, have always formed the favourite stock, both in Lancashire and Cheshire. They do so

* From a Report of the Pleas of the Forest, held before William Bassett and Robert de Hungerford, in the 11 Edw. 3, it appears that the following townships were within the forest, and that they were then at the mercy of the King, for various offences against the forest laws:—"Sankey, Kuerdeleigh, Bolde, Apulton, Dutton, Crounton, Parr, Sutton, Raynhull, Eccleston, Knowselegh, Kyrkeby, Wyston, Huyton, Torbok, Hale, Garston, Spek, Allerton, Parva Wolveton, Magna Wolveton, Childwall, Ayntree, Walton, Derby, Kirkedale, Lytherpol, Wavertree, Eveton, Bothull, Lytherlond, Parva Crosseby, Magna Crosseby, Thornton, Ins, Sefton, Aghton, Maghul, Mellyng, Lydiate, Down Holland, and Forneby." The ancient spelling is curious, and in some cases throws light on the origin of the name.

† White's Natural History of Selborne, 16.

‡ EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.—The chief delights of this king were the coursing of swift hounds, whose clamour, during the sports, he was eager to cheer; and the flight of birds, whose nature it is to pursue their kindred prey. Every day, after his morning devotions, he indulged in these exercises.—*Sharon Turner's History of the Anglo Saxons*, iv., 107.

§ *Stabilitio* meant stalking the deer. To drive the deer, and other game, from all quarters to the centre of a gradually contracted circle, where they were compelled to stand, was *stabilitio*.—*Sir Henry Ellis's Introduction to Domesday*, 35.

at the present time, when the chief wealth of the Cheshire farmers consists in their 100,000 milch cows;* and that of the farmers of Lancashire in nearly as many more. When Camden visited Lancashire, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, he remarked, that the goodness of the soil and climate was proved, by the beauty of the inhabitants, and the fineness of their cattle, the latter of which, he says, were noted for their long horns, their well-formed bodies, and for all the good points which Columella, and Mago the Carthaginian—those ancient judges of horned cattle—consider that an ox should possess.† From the nature of the surrounding country, Liverpool never possessed any share of the trade in wool, when it was the principal export of England, and the great creator of commercial wealth. The fame of the Cheshire and Lancashire dairies is of long standing. About the beginning of the last century, this port was much frequented by the London cheese ships, and had to fight a hard battle with the cheese-mongers, who resisted the making of the first dock, and insisted on their ancient right to stick their ships in the mud, as their fathers had done before them.‡

England is scarcely less fortunate as an agricultural than it is as a pastoral country. It is better suited than any other country in Europe for the alternate system of husbandry, in which a change of crops answers all the purposes of rest to the soil. It also abounds in soils which are easily worked, and yet yield an abundant return of grain. During the dominion of the Romans in Britain, the corn fields of England furnished large supplies of grain, for the use of the garrisons which defended the frontier fortresses of the empire, on the banks of the Rhine.§ Agriculture and pasturage formed the chief occupations of the people, during the Anglo-Saxon period. It was probably during this age that the practice of enclosing fields with hedge-rows, which gives so great a charm to the rural scenery of England, when compared with the bare and open plains of the Continent, was introduced.|| We find frequent mention of woods and groves of hedge-row plants in the Domesday survey. During the last two hundred years of the Anglo-Saxon period, the pursuits of the husbandman were continually interrupted by the irruptions of the Northmen, or Danes; who too frequently reaped the harvests which he had sown. As soon, however, as the confusion caused by the Norman Conquest had subsided, and as the Norman Kings had organised effectual

* See M'Culloch's Account of the British Empire, i., 501.

+ Camden's Britannia, 612.

† See Case against making a Dock at Liverpool in a later part of this work.

§ Camden's Britannia, 3.

|| Laing's Notes of a Traveller, 34.

means of national defence, agriculture began to improve, and fresh land was taken from the waste.* The course of improvement then commenced, has continued to the present time, when the yearly value of the produce of the soil of the three kingdoms has risen to upwards of two hundred millions.† Unfortunately for the early prosperity of Liverpool, all the great corn fields of England, as well as its finest sheep-walks, are situated in the east, the central, or the southern districts of the kingdom. Six hundred years ago, William of Malmesbury described the neighbouring county of Cheshire, as a region, poor in corn, especially wheat, but rich in cattle and fish. The first part of this description is equally applicable to the soil of South Lancashire. These counties never yielded a larger quantity of grain than was required for the support of their own population. For the last hundred years they have not done that, but have been dependent, in a constantly increasing degree, on the southern and eastern counties of England, on Ireland, and on the continents of Europe and America. At the time when the Domesday survey was made, there was a smaller quantity of arable land, in the country between the Ribble and the Mersey, than in any other district of equal extent. Of the whole 700,000 acres included in the hundreds of West Derby, Warrington, Newton, Salford, Blackburn, and Leyland, only seventy-nine hides, equal to from eight to ten thousand acres, were in cultivation. The value of the whole district between the Ribble and the Mersey was only one hundred and forty-five pounds, at the death of Edward the Confessor. Allowing the pound of that day to have been fifteen times as valuable as the modern sovereign, this will make it equal to little more than two thousand a year.‡ At that time the small county of Rutland paid the crown a yearly rent of one hundred and fifty pounds, equal to upwards of £2000 of

* See List of Permissions to Inclose Land, in *Calendarium Rotulorum Patentium*.

+ £217,551,977.—*J. R. McCulloch's Account of the British Empire*, i., 573.

† There were no coins named pounds, or even shillings, in those days. The pound was 12 ounces of silver; the shilling was the twentieth part of the pound; the penny (which was a coin made of silver) was the twelfth part of the shilling. It contained nearly as much silver as a threepenny piece of the present day. In turning the money of the Norman and early Plantagenet Kings into money of the present day, I have followed the computation made in that interesting work, "*A Description of the Close Rolls, in the Tower of London*:" by THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, F.S.A., prefixed to that valuable contribution to the national records. Speaking of the money of the reign of Henry the Third, the son of King John, he says:—"We must not forget that money bore a value, according to the best calculations, "about fifteen times greater than it does at present. The shillings of that day were three "times the weight they are now; and yet a modern shilling would at that time have bought "about five times as much as it will at present: consequently, one shilling of the coin of "Henry the Third, would produce fifteen times as much as one of William the Fourth." —*General Introduction to the Close Rolls*, 178. In the same way, a penny of that time was worth fifteen pence of the present day, and a pound was worth fifteen pounds. The mark of silver was two-thirds of a pound, and was worth about ten pounds of the present day.

our money; and after the Domesday survey, a land tax, of six shillings per hide, produced four hundred and fifteen pounds in the county of Dorset, and five hundred and nine pounds in the county of Somerset,*—equal respectively to £6,225, and £7,535. These facts show that the country between the Ribble and the Mersey was at that time in a lower position, as relates to industry, and the value of property, than other parts of the kingdom. Its progress for many ages afterwards was very slow, when compared with that of more favoured districts; nor was it until the forests of which I have spoken had been cleared away, and many of the smaller mosses had been drained, that cultivation was carried on to any considerable extent. In the two hundred and eighty years which elapsed between the Domesday survey and the reign of Edward the Third, the yearly value of landed property, between the Ribble and the Mersey, had increased from £145 to £5,170, in the money of those times; or from £2,175, of our present money, to £77,550.†

The yearly value of the manors about Liverpool was as follows, at the time when the Domesday Survey was made:—West Derby, with its six berewicks, or subordinate manors, which are supposed to have been Liverpool, Everton, part of Wavertree, Garston, Great Crosby, and Thingwall, £16 12s., equal to about £249 of our present money; Toxteth, in two manors, worth 4s. each—8s., equal to £6 of our present money; Wavertree, 8s., equal to £6; Kirkdale, 10s., equal to £7 10s.; Walton, 8s., equal to £6; Smethom, or Esmedune, 2s. 8d., equal to £2; Woolton, 5s. 4d., equal to £4; Allerton, 8s., equal to £6; Speke, 5s. 4d., equal to £4; Childwall, 8s., equal to £6; and Bootle, 5s. 4d., equal to £4.

The fisheries of England were of greater comparative importance in ancient times, when the whole of the people made a point of conscience of consuming fish on certain days and at certain seasons of the year, than they are now. The early surveys of the kingdom, and the most ancient deeds still in existence, show the value which was then attached both to the sea and the river fisheries. It is mentioned in Domesday Book, that all the King's tenants between the Ribble and the Mersey were bound to attend at the royal fisheries, as well as the hunting parties. The fishery of the River Mersey is one of the articles enumerated in all the ancient leases of the town of Liverpool. Salmon and other fish abounded in the stream, and as many as forty-four varieties were formerly caught either

* C. P. Cooper on the Public Records. The Exon Domesday, i., 212–13.

† Nonarum Inquisitiones.

in the river or on the neighbouring coast.* In the reign of William Rufus, Roger of Poictou granted the fishery of Thelwall, above Warrington, to the Abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul, which his father had founded, at Shrewsbury;† and it remained in the hands of that community till the reign of Henry the Third, when it employed the terrors of the Church, to rescue it from the hands of Ranulf de Blundeville, Earl of Chester, who had seized it, under a general grant made to him by the King of lands in Lancashire. In the reign of Edward the Fourth a Royal Order was issued, commanding that the fish weirs on the Mersey should be reduced in width, so as to render it possible for an eight-oared boat to pass up the river, and for the salmon to reach the higher parts of the stream. We learn from the Norris Papers that salmon were caught in the River Mersey, at the end of the seventeenth century, in so great abundance, that they could not be consumed by the population of the towns and villages on its banks.‡ There can be no doubt that these fisheries gave much employment, and produced a considerable revenue, in ancient times. The sea fisheries on the southern part of the Lancashire coast have never been so valuable as those on the eastern side of England, where the herring and the cod fisheries have been carried on to a great extent, from ancient times. The port of Yarmouth owed its early importance, to the skill and spirit with which the Yarmouth men carried on the herring fishery; and Camden attributes the rapid rise of the port of Hull, to the trade in stock fish, or dried cod, which the merchants of Hull obtained from the coasts of Iceland,§ as it has since been obtained on the banks of Newfoundland.

England is richer than any other country in Europe, except Poland, in brine springs, and mines of salt. The brine springs of Cheshire have been worked from the time of the Romans;|| but the rock salt, which

* Enfield's Essay towards a History of Liverpool, 7.

+ Dugdale's Monasticon, iii., 521.

† Norris Papers.—Mr. Thomas Patten, of Warrington, writing to Mr. Richard Norris, on the 8th January, 1697, says:—"I am informed that there is a design to bring a Bill into the House of Commons against fish weares that hinder navigation, in navigable rivers, and that take and destroy fish, and the fry of fish. You may well know the mischief that is done in the River Mersey (Mersey), or at least have frequently heard, what vast numbers of salmon trout are taken, so as to supply all the country and market towns, twenty miles round, until the country is cloyed, and when they cannot get sale for them, they give them to their swine. Your brother did formerly take three or four salmon a-week, at a fishing, in or near Speke, but of late hath taken very few, or none, of which he hath complained to me, and he imputes this loss to the destruction of the fry, and hath often threatened to prosecute your fisheries."—*From vol. 9 of Remains, Historical and Literary, connected with the Palatine Counties of Lancashire and Cheshire, published by the Chetham Society. The Norris Papers, edited by Thomas Heywood, Esq., F.A.S., 37-8-9.*

§ Camden's Britannia, 579.

|| Camden's Britannia, 486.

is found in abundance, in the neighbourhood of Northwich, was not discovered until the year 1670.* The salt supplied from the brine springs of Cheshire furnished the port of Chester with a valuable article of export, in former times, as it does that of Liverpool at present. As early as the time of the conquest, the manufacture of salt was carried on in Cheshire, and yielded a revenue to the Crown, and to the Earls of Chester; but the difficulty of conveying so bulky an article to distant parts of the kingdom, rendered it cheaper to manufacture a coarse salt from sea water, than to buy the produce of the mines of Cheshire or Worcestershire. Salt pits were, in consequence, formed all round the coast; to the extent of some hundreds, in some of the southern counties.† Even at Liverpool salt was worth £12 per ton, in the reign of King John.‡ In consequence of the dearness of the article, the manufacture of salt from sea water was continued, on the coast of Lancashire, as late as the reign of Queen Elizabeth.§ It was not until the river Weaver, which flows through the centre of the Cheshire salt district, had been rendered navigable, about the beginning of the eighteenth century, that Liverpool obtained any considerable share of the salt trade; which has since become one principal means of drawing vessels to this port from all parts of Europe and America.

Long before Cæsar had shown the Romans the way to Britain, the Carthaginians, their rivals in arms, and superiors in arts, had faced the perils of an unknown ocean, and a cloudy sky, without chart or compass, to purchase the tin and copper of Cornwall.|| The mines which they explored have been worked, with some periods of cessation caused by the wars between the Cornish Britons and the Saxons, for upwards of 2000 years; and are amongst the oldest, if they are not the oldest mines now worked, in any part of Europe. The lead mines of Derbyshire have also been worked, for many ages; but they, as well as the tin mines of Cornwall, are too distant to have had any influence in developing the commerce of Liverpool. Iron mines or manufactories existed, at the time when Domesday Book was composed, in the counties of Somerset, Hereford, Gloucester, Chester, Lincoln, and Northampton.¶ There is no mention of the working of the iron mines of Furness, in North Lancashire, in that survey; but they were worked, in

* Philosophical Transactions, 2015.

+ Sir Henry Ellis's Introduction to Domesday.

‡ See Sheriff's Account, or Pipe Roll for 17th John.

§ Camden's Britannia, 618.

|| Heeren's Historical Researches, i., 169.

¶ Sir Henry Ellis's Introduction to Domesday, 44.

the reign of Edward the Second, when Robert Bruce overran the whole of North Lancashire with his victorious army, laid waste the country as far as the river Ribble, and carried off every morsel of iron which could be found in Furness.* The monks of Furness Abbey continued to work the mines, down to the time of the Reformation;† and the works were afterwards carried on, by private proprietors, to the end of the last century. So long as charcoal was the only material used in manufacturing iron, the wild and woody districts of the kingdom were the principal seats of the iron manufacture. Such were the hills of Furness, the forest of Deane, and the great forests which formerly covered the hills of Kent and East Sussex,‡ as well as those of Worcestershire and South Staffordshire. Great and grievous complaints began to be made, as early as the reign of Queen Elizabeth, of the destruction of the woods of Worcestershire, Staffordshire, and other districts; and this decay of the woods was one reason for inducing Lord Dudley to attempt to manufacture iron with coal, as early as the reign of James the First. The attempt succeeded, so far as to show the practicability of the plan; but was not carried to any considerable extent, until the middle of the succeeding century. At that time the quantity of iron produced had sunk to 17,350 tons a year;§ and it appeared as if this great and ancient manufacture was about to be lost to England, and to be transferred to the inexhaustible forests of Sweden and Russia. Fortunately, however, the art of smelting ironstone with coal was greatly improved about the middle of the eighteenth century. The manufacture has advanced with giant strides since then; and now furnishes a yearly supply of upwards of two million tons of iron.|| The opening of the Mersey and Trent Canal established a connexion between the iron districts of Staffordshire and Liverpool, early in the present century; and, since that time, Liverpool has become the central port, for receiving the iron of Staffordshire, Yorkshire, South Wales, and Scotland; and for forwarding it to foreign countries. This great trade has grown up within the last sixty years. Until that time Bristol was the principal shipping port for iron. It drew its supplies from the forest of Deane, and South Wales. Liverpool had nothing of the trade at that time, except a few cargoes, shipped at the Pile of Foudrey, from the mines of Furness.

* H. Scrivenor's History of the Iron Trade, 32.

+ West's Antiquities of Furness, Appendix No. 8.

‡ Camden's Britannia, 32.

§ Scrivenor's History of the Iron Trade, 57.

|| "The make of iron has increased in a most remarkable degree. In 1840 it amounted to 1,396,400 tons; in 1843 it was 1,215,350 tons; in 1847 it was 1,999,668 tons; and in 1848 it was 2,093,736 tons."—*Speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir C. Wood), July 2, 1849.*

Around the borders of that great chain of hills, already spoken of, as stretching through the northern counties of England, from Trent to Tweed, the coal formation approaches the surface of the earth, at numerous places, and over extensive districts. This wonderful accumulation of the remains of primæval forests furnishes inexhaustible supplies of fuel, for the comfort of man, and the purposes of the arts. Several large beds of coal are found south of the River Trent, and south of the point where the primitive rocks rise to the surface of the earth, at Mount Sorrell and Charnwood Forest. Amongst these are the valuable bed of coal, near Ashby de la Zouche, which is chiefly worked to supply fuel to the town of Leicester, and other places south of the coal formation; the bed of coal, on which the town of Atherstone stands; and the beds of South Staffordshire, in which the coal is of extraordinary thickness, and alternates with equally rich beds of ironstone.* The most extensive, however, of the coal formations of England, are those which lie to the north of the River Trent, and which are found around the edges, and on the slopes, of that great chain which has been called the Pennine Range. One large series of the carboniferous strata commences in the neighbourhood of Nottingham and Derby, and extends in a northerly direction, as far as the River Aire, and the manufacturing towns, in the West Riding of Yorkshire. The coal there disappears; but again shows itself on the banks of the Tees. From that point it extends northward, across the counties of Durham and Northumberland, almost to the borders of Scotland, approaching close to the sea at the mouth of the River Tyne, and creating the commerce of Newcastle. On the western side of the hills, the coal appears in the valley of the Ellen, southwest of Carlisle; and winds round the mountain limestone of Cumberland, until it reaches the sea at Whitehaven. Further south, it is again found in the valley of the Lune; but there the beds are thin, and of little value. The great coal-field of Lancashire—the foundation of its present manufacturing and commercial greatness—commences to the south of the River Ribble, and extends over the greater part of the district between that river and the Mersey, sending out a large branch southward into Cheshire, in the direction of Macclesfield.† Another range of coal-fields there approaches it, and continues the supply of fuel into the Potteries of North Staffordshire. A valuable coal formation also exists in the county of Flint, on the southern bank of the River Dee;

* Buckland's Bridgewater Treatise, i., 529.

† See Accounts of the Lancashire Coal Field, in the Transactions of the Manchester Philosophical Society, by E. W. Binney, Esq., and James Heywood, Esq., F.R.S., F.G.S.

and furnishes the means of smelting the rich ores with which that district abounds. The coal-fields of Lancashire, Cheshire, and Flintshire, and the salt district of Cheshire, encircle the valleys of the Mersey, the Weaver, and the lower valley of the Dee, with mineral formations. The Lancashire coal-field extends from Todmorden, at the foot of the Yorkshire hills, to Torbock, about six miles east of Liverpool; and from Colne, on the edge of Ribblesdale, to Macclesfield, in Cheshire. It is more perfectly developed than any of the neighbouring coal-fields, the strata having been ascertained to be six thousand six hundred feet in thickness, and to contain one hundred and twenty seams of coal. This immense store-house of fuel has been the principal means of creating the cotton manufacture of Lancashire; as the coal-fields of Yorkshire, Cheshire, and Staffordshire, have been the chief means of creating the manufactures of woollens, cutlery, salt, earthenware, and iron. Liverpool is the western outlet of all these rich coal-fields, on which stand the great workshops in which those manufactures are prepared which English commerce exchanges for the products of the world.

The first coal-field of England, which was rendered available for the purposes of commerce, was that of Northumberland. This coal-field is intersected by the river Tyne, which affords a natural means of shipping its produce to London, and to all the cities and towns on the eastern coast. Coal is not found, on the eastern side of England, south of the river Tees; nor anywhere, on the southern coast, from Kent to Cornwall. In ancient times, all the great cities of England, with the exception of Bristol and Chester, were situated either on the east or southern coasts of the Island, or within a moderate distance of them. Firewood was also less abundant on the eastern coast, from the comparative dryness of the climate; the chalky and sandy nature of the soil; the abundance of population; and the greater spread of cultivation. From these causes, the coal trade of Newcastle came into existence very soon after the Castle had been built by William Rufus, and rendered Newcastle a flourishing port before Liverpool existed as a place of commerce.* This trade has increased with the increase of the population of London and the total destruction of the forests. A similar trade has sprung up, in modern times, at Whitehaven, on the western side of the Island, whose coal mines now supply the people of Dublin, Belfast, Londonderry, and all the eastern coast of Ireland, with fuel.

The existence of the great coal-field of Lancashire must have been

* Brande's History of Newcastle, ii., 253.

known from a very early period, although it has been only during the last hundred years that coal has been extensively applied to manufacturing and commercial purposes. In early times, the ground was covered with forests and mosses; and the immense supplies of wood and turf rendered coal of little value as a fuel. Turf was the fuel consumed in Liverpool in early times, when the Turbaries around the town were considered of great value. Amongst the earliest documents, relating to the town of Liverpool, is a Deed of Gift, written in the barbarous law French of the time, by which Thomas Plantagenet, Earl of Lancaster, who was then the proprietor of the town, presented his good Burgesses of Liverpool with twelve acres of mosses, or peat land, in consideration of a yearly payment of one denarius, or a penny. This land still belongs to the Corporation of Liverpool. It was afterwards called the Great Heath; and is part of the ground on which the Infirmary formerly stood, and on which the handsomest building in Liverpool, the new St. George's Hall, now stands. Great quantities of turf were also obtained in the fields between Abercromby Square and Edge Hill. In a survey of the boundaries of Toxteth Park, made in the reign of Henry the Third, it is stated that a portion of the northern boundary was at the ancient Turbaries, between two meres, or lakes; of which the Moss Lake, in that hollow, was one. Turf continued to be much in use so late as the reign of Charles the Second, when Sir Edward Moore complained bitterly, that the Molyneux family had ruined his turf grounds, by damming up the waters of the Lake, in order to make them flow to their mills in Toxteth-park, instead of following their ancient course to the head of the pool. It appears from other documents, that the same abundance of turf existed in Everton and West Derby; from which places successive governors of the Castle of Liverpool, and other favourites of the Crown, obtained their fuel. The supplies of turf and firewood were even more abundant about Manchester, and in the eastern parts of the county; and, though the town of Wigan became a royal borough earlier than any other place in the interior of Lancashire, it was owing to the favour of the vicar of the parish with one of our early kings, and not to the rich mines of coal which existed in the neighbourhood.* When Leland visited Lancashire, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, he found that the Bradshaighs, of Haigh, near Wigan, the ancestors of the Earl of Balcarres, on the female side, had opened mines of cannel, "like se coal," in that neighbourhood.† From

* Baines's History of Lancashire, iii., 530.

+ Leland's Itinerary, viii., 47.

that time coal has been gradually used as fuel, and applied to a great variety of useful purposes. But it was not until the middle of the eighteenth century that Liverpool was connected with the coal-field of Lancashire by anything better than a common road. In the year 1760, the Sankey Canal, the first navigable canal formed in England, in modern times, was completed, and served to connect one portion of the coal-field of Lancashire with the River Mersey and Liverpool; and some years later, the Leeds and Liverpool Canal was formed, which cut through the heart of the coal-field of Lancashire. In the year 1759, Francis, Duke of Bridgewater, obtained an Act, authorising him to form a canal, from his coal mines at Worsley, to the town of Manchester. This was the commencement of those noble and original undertakings, which entitle him to rank amongst the greatest benefactors of his country.* Manchester also possessed coal mines at no great distance, in other directions. On the discovery of the steam-engine, the manufacturers of Manchester were able, at once, to substitute the certain and regular power of steam, for the uncertain and varying power of water. By thus combining the great discovery of Watt with the mechanical discoveries of Hargreaves, Arkwright, and Crompton; and by availing themselves of the large supplies of cotton which the commerce of the West Indies brought into Liverpool, they placed Manchester at the head of the manufacturing cities of the empire. It has since become the manufacturing capital of the world; a position which it has well won, and is likely long to retain. Innumerable other applications have since been made of coal, as a fuel, and as a means of creating motive power.† The glass trade, after having languished in the South of England, has been carried to the highest perfection in Lancashire. The manufacture of earthenware, at one time appeared likely to take root in this county; and though the finer branches of the trade were removed to North Staffordshire, by the taste and ingenuity of Wedgwood, this has not deprived Liverpool of the commerce in the beautiful and useful products of the Potteries. The manufacture of machinery has been carried to an immense extent in Lancashire; and forms one of the most valuable sources of wealth possessed by the county. The improved chemistry of modern times has discovered the means of extracting a valuable alkali from muriate of soda. Many other applications of fuel have been made, in the adjoining counties, which fur-

* See Article on Aqueducts and Canals in the Quarterly Review, No. cxlvi.

+ "It rows, it pumps, it excavates, it carries, it draws, it hammers, it spins, it weaves, "it prints."—*Bridgewater Treatise*, i., 535.

nish additional products to the markets of Liverpool. In our own times steam has been applied to new purposes. The great invention of steam navigation, due to the genius and perseverance of the American, Fulton, has received its noblest application in the opening of a steam communication between Europe and America, by which those two continents have been brought within nine or ten days' distance of each other. At a still more recent period, the power of steam in propelling carriages upon railways, which was improved, perfected, and all but discovered by George Stephenson, working with the capital, and cheered by the encouragement of a few merchants of Liverpool, has already been the means of covering England with a network of railways, and of enabling us to move between distant places with the swiftness of the wind.

The western side of the island is subject to continual rains, caused by the bursting of the clouds formed by the exhalations of the Atlantic Ocean, and borne inland by the westerly winds, which prevail for nearly three-fourths of the year on the Lancashire coast. The average rainfall on the west side of the island is thirty-five inches in the year, while that on the eastern side is only about twenty-five inches. It has been ascertained that it rains on two hundred and eight days in the year on the western side of the island, and only on one hundred and fifty-two on the eastern.* The range of hills which extends from Kendal, in Westmorland, to Macclesfield, in Cheshire, stops the progress of a large portion of the clouds as they are flying eastward, and causes them to discharge their contents along the edges of the hills, and on the adjoining valleys and plains of Westmorland, Lancashire, and Cheshire, in such profusion, that the rainfall on some points on the hills is found to be from fifty to sixty, and sometimes seventy inches per annum. Thus, it has been ascertained that the rainfall on the banks of Grasmere is sometimes upwards of sixty-five inches in the year; that at Ambleside it is more than fifty-eight inches; at Kendal it is nearly fifty-eight inches; on Kinder Scout it is upwards of seventy inches; and that at some points on the tops of the Lancashire hills it is from sixty-seven to seventy-seven inches.† From these causes, the water power of the districts which lie on the sides of these hills is greater than that of any other part of the kingdom. As early as the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Kendal, Manchester, and Halifax, all of which lie around them, were the three great manufacturing towns of the North of England; and it is in the neighbourhood of this chain of hills,

* See Map of Meteorology, No. 4, in Johnstone's Atlas of Physical Science.

† See two Papers, in the Eighth Volume of Memoirs of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester, by JOHN FREDERIC BATEMAN, M. Inst. C.E.

that other great manufacturing towns have since arisen, at Preston, Blackburn, Bury, Ashton, Stockport, Oldham, Macclesfield, Congleton, and Leek, on the western side of them ; and at Leeds, Bradford, Wakefield, Huddersfield, and Sheffield on the east ; as well as at Belper and Derby, which stand on the streams flowing southward from the Peak of Derbyshire. The water power of Lancashire is also greatly increased by the rapidity of the western descent from the hills. The slope along which the rivers of Derbyshire reach the sea is nearly two hundred miles in length, following all the windings of the River Trent ; that by which the Yorkshire rivers reach it, is nearly one hundred miles ; that by which the Lancashire rivers reach it, is little more than fifty. Thus, from the combined effect of the extraordinary weight of rain which falls on the hills of Lancashire, and the rapidity of the descent, the momentum applicable to the propelling of water mills is greater in this county than in any other part of the kingdom ; whilst, from the frequency of the rainfall, it is also more constant. Manchester is situated at the point at which the River Irwell brings down the waters from the rivers and brooks of Central Lancashire ; and at which that stream receives the Medlock and the Irk, which descend more directly from the east. It is thus the point of meeting of most of the rivers and streams of South Lancashire ; and the different valleys, which converge at that point, possess a greater abundance of water, and a larger supply of water power, than is to be found within an equal space in any other part of England. According to Dr. Kuerdon's manuscripts, there was a fulling mill at Manchester in the reign of Edward the Second.* It was only of the value of eight shillings and fourpence, and yet it was more than the place could sustain, if we are to believe the declaration made in the following reign, that there were then no people engaged in trade at Manchester. Manufactures seem to have taken root in Lancashire during the dreadful conflicts between the houses of York and Lancaster, which wasted most other districts of the kingdom, but never touched the country between the Ribble and the Mersey. When Leland visited Manchester, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, it was a flourishing place ; and from that time to the present it has advanced more steadily, more rapidly, and to a higher position, than any other manufacturing town in the kingdom. Long before the modern improvements in the steam-engine had established the manufacturing ascendancy of those districts which possess an abundant supply of coal, manufactures had been firmly established in the valleys of Lancashire,

* Dr. Kuerdon's MSS., 274.

Yorkshire, and Cheshire, by the numerous streams flowing through them ; and had abandoned their original seats in the southern and eastern parts of the island, where the streams are less numerous, and where their course to the sea is so gentle as to be scarcely perceptible, and to be nearly useless for the purposes of industry.

The streams about Liverpool are too small to be of much use for manufacturing purposes. The brook which feeds Otterspool formerly turned a corn mill, which was called the Mill of Atters.* The spring at the Bootle Water Works also turned a mill, at Bootle ;† and the stream which formerly ran from the Mosslake, at the foot of Edge Hill, turned two or three mills, before it fell into the Pool. The Moores and Molyneuxes had a great contest for the possession of this stream, in the reign of Charles the Second. The former contended that it ought to flow into Liverpool Pool ; the Molyneuxes (who had mills in Toxteth Park) dammed up the waters, until the stream ran through the present Prince's Park, and Parkfield, to the river. The following passage from the Moore Rental, respecting this quarrel, contains so much information as to the water power, the turbaries, and the pool which formed the original harbour of Liverpool, as to render it well worth quoting :—" Remember one thing of great " concernment" (says Sir Edward Moore, writing to his son) " within the " memory of man, the Lord Mullinex hath erected two water mills in " Toxteth Park, and raised dams for them within his said park ; and since " these late wars" (the great civil war) " hath laid the water over and " upon the moss or turf room belonging to me and my ancestors, for many " hundred of years, which moss lies within the liberties of Liverpool ; but " the times growing peaceable, and I intending to get a dig for turfs, as " all my ancestors have done, I could not get the said turf, by reason " the Lord Mullinex caused his millers to lay their dams upon my moss, " in a great height ; whereupon I caused one *** to scour an old ditch, " over which there is a great stone plate, that hath for many hundreds of " years been the usual water course, to take the waters off my firing ; and " when they had opened the old water course, the Lord Mullinex sent me " a threatening letter, how Liverpool heath was all his, and the ditch was " made upon the heath, and he would command his tenants in Toxteth " Park to come and put it all in again ; whereupon, considering that it " was just at the King's" (Charles the Second's) " restoration, so that all " those red-letter men were so high, and that the Chancellor of the Duchy

* See Inquisition of the Forests of West Derbyshire—16 and 17, Edward Third.

† See Plan in Enfield's Essay towards a History of Liverpool.

“ was the Lord Seymour; and likewise, by the same lady, the Lord
 “ Treasurer of England was his brother-in-law; all which considered,
 “ made me sit down with this great wrong, yet not the first by many
 “ that family hath done us, and to be contented with less fires, till it shall
 “ please God to raise me a greater interest and him a weaker; and then,
 “ if an opportunity serve, to endeavour, by all just and honest means, to
 “ get your own right, which may be done as follows. If ever you be
 “ Mayor of Liverpool, when the grand jury is chosen, I mean that jury
 “ which go round the town, for viewing all common nuisances and water
 “ courses, then you may inform them that you held ten acres of moss under
 “ the broad seal of England, out of which your ancestors have gotten all
 “ or most of their yearly fire, but by reason of a common water course,
 “ over which there is an ancient plate of stone, lying in the highway to
 “ the town of Liverpool, is stopped, so that your moss is drowned;
 “ therefore you desire the jury may view it, and find whether the town (it
 “ being in the highway) ought to open it, or that they will make an order
 “ for you to do it. * * * * Besides, there is two great reasons
 “ wherefore the town ought to keep that water course the right and usual
 “ course, which, if otherwise, it may prejudice the town very much: the
 “ first is, there is no water course convenient or about the town for skinnners,
 “ dyers, and other such trades, as this is which makes the continual water
 “ stream which runs down the gout to the Pool bridge, so that if this stream
 “ should be turned, such tradesmen will have no encouragement; the
 “ second is, if ever the Pool be cut navigable, of necessity all such cut
 “ wherein ships are to ride, must either have a considerable fresh stream
 “ to run continually through it, or it will quickly wreck up, or else there
 “ must be convenient places for raising great dams of water to let out
 “ with flood gates when necessity requires, for cleansing of the channel;
 “ and truly God and Nature hath made all the places between the Pool
 “ and stone plate so convenient for raising excessive great dams, and
 “ that so convenient out of the way, so great a fresh from off the Moss-
 “ lake, that though my eyes may never see it, yet I am confident that
 “ God Almighty, which makes nothing in vain, hath ordained this to be
 “ the greatest good for this town. Therefore I hope the town will never
 “ lose the advantage of the water coming that way; for if they do, all
 “ they are worth cannot procure a stream to cleanse the Pool as above
 “ said. If once you are of the Council, your oath obliges you to care for
 “ the good of the town; and if you are not, your interest is so involved
 “ with theirs, that take this as a warning from me, that if they prosper

“ you must thrive, and if the town sink you must drown ; so as where a
 “ finger be cut, the whole body feels it ; so you, or your interest, being a
 “ member of that body, it can receive not the least sere either in loss or
 “ repute, but your estate or person will be damnified thereby. Therefore,
 “ in the name of God, let them love you and you them, and twenty of
 “ the greatest men in the county cannot wrong you ; but if you quarrel,
 “ you are easily broken. God bless you both. Amen. Remember that
 “ when you get this watercourse opened, it will not only be so advantageous
 “ to the town, but will make the turf room so dry, that I dare assure you,
 “ you may sell fifty pounds’ worth at least of turf to the town in a year ;
 “ for of my knowledge you have good black turf at least for four yards
 “ deep ; if so, it may be worth two hundred pounds an acre, and you have
 “ ten acres of it ; in a word, you know not what it may be worth, lying
 “ so near a great town ; and if you leave half a yard of the bottom
 “ ungotten, once in forty years, it will swell and grow again. Besides this
 “ interest of your turf, if the water be taken off the Mosslake, it will be
 “ better for your wind mill by £10 per annum, for that it will make the
 “ Park Mills want water, the greatest supply being from that lake.”*

It will be seen from the above brief account of the natural resources of South Lancashire and the adjoining districts, that they afforded little which could create commerce, at the port of Liverpool, during the period when pasturage and agriculture formed the chief occupations of the people, and when wool and grain were the principal exports of the kingdom. The commerce of Liverpool began to show itself only when the mechanical arts had made some progress, and when the power of falling streams began to be extensively used, to aid the feeble strength of man in propelling machinery. It has attained its present greatness only since the discovery of the wonderful power of steam and machinery combined has given to the manufacturing districts of England the command of a power equal to the united strength of four to five hundred millions of men, and means of production sufficient to supply the wants of the whole world.† During the pastoral and agricultural ages, Liverpool suffered from the combined disadvantages of being situated in one of the smallest and least fruitful valleys in England, and of not possessing any convenient communication, either with the interior of that valley or with foreign countries.

* The Moore Rental, edited by Thomas Heywood, Esq., F.S.A. No. 12 of the publications, Historical and Literary, connected with the Palatine Counties of Lancaster and Chester, published by the Chetham Society, 69.

† Bridgewater Treatise, i., 535.

The valley of the Mersey is the smallest of the numerous districts whose products have given rise to a large port and an extensive commerce. The main valley of the Mersey, with those of its tributaries, the Irwell and the Weaver, does not contain more than one thousand square miles of land, whilst the valleys of the Thames and the Severn each contain about six thousand square miles, and that of the Trent, and of the other streams which discharge their waters into the Humber, contain about nine thousand. The largest of these valleys is small compared with the valleys of the Continent of Europe. In France, the fine valley of the Seine contains upwards of twenty-two thousand square miles of land; that of the Garonne upwards of twenty-four thousand; that of the Rhone upwards of twenty-eight thousand; and that of the Loire upwards of thirty-three thousand. The valleys of Germany are on a still larger scale. That of the Oder contains upwards of thirty-nine thousand square miles of land; that of the Elbe upwards of forty-one thousand; and that of the "wide and winding" Rhine upwards of sixty-five thousand. The valleys of Southern Europe are also of considerable magnitude. The valley of the Tagus contains upwards of twenty-one thousand square miles; that of the Douro upwards of twenty-nine thousand, and that of the Po, with its tributaries, nearly thirty thousand. The commercial rivers of Africa and Asia, and the valleys which they water, are on a much greater scale. The valley of the Nile contains upwards of five hundred thousand square miles; that of the Ganges upwards of four hundred and thirty thousand; and that of each of the great rivers of China upwards of five hundred thousand. Even these vast ranges of territory yield to that contained in the valley of the Parana, which covers eight hundred and eighty-six thousand square miles of the earth's surface, and to that of the still mightier Mississippi, which covers upwards of a million. The valley of the Mersey, with its thousand square miles of land, and its twenty miles of natural navigation, stands at one end of the scale; the Mississippi, with its million square miles, and its twenty thousand miles of inland navigation, stands at the other.*

Commercial cities owe their origin, and the rate of their progress in population and wealth, chiefly to the advantages which nature gives them for exchanging the products of one country, or region, for those of another. The ocean, with its gulfs and bays, and the rivers which flow into it from the interior of continents and islands, are the great

* All the calculations of the sizes of valleys, in the above paragraph, are from *Johnstone's Physical Atlas*, plate Hydrology, 5 and 6, and are founded on the calculations of Professor Berghaus, of Berlin, except those which relate to the Thames, the Severn, and the Trent, which are from the *Penny Cyclopædia*, published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge; and that of the Mersey, which is from calculation.

natural means of conducting commercial exchanges. Few cities have risen to eminence, as places of commerce, and none rapidly, which did not possess either some special advantage for communicating with seas or countries not otherwise accessible to each other, or an easy communication with the interior by a large navigable river. Some commercial cities are situated on isthmuses, whose opposite shores are washed by the waters of oceans or seas, which do not approach each other at any other point available for commerce, and hence become the natural points for the exchange of the products of the countries which are washed by their waters. Such was the great city of Tyre, the commercial capital of the ancient world, which owed its greatness to the convenience of its position, for conducting the overland trade between the Mediterranean and India, caused by its position on the coast of Syria, and its proximity to the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf.* Such were Panama and Acapulco, cities of considerable importance, created by the intercourse across the isthmus of Darien, even in the time of the Spaniards. Such is Chagres, which promises to attain a greater amount of importance since the introduction of steam navigation on the Atlantic, and along the whole coast of North and South America, has rendered it the great point of passage between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. The two greatest commercial cities of the Hanseatic League, Hamburg and Lubec, owed their early importance to the convenience which their positions afforded for exchanging the products of the German Ocean for those of the Baltic, at a time when the coasts of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden were peopled by pirates; and when the passage through the Sound was doubly dangerous, from the difficulties of the navigation and the habits of the people who lived upon its shores. Other cities have sprung up, at points where two seas not merely approach each other but mingle their waters. Such was the cause of the greatness of the ancient Byzantium; and of its modern successor, Constantinople. At the time when the commerce of the Athenians flourished, Byzantium was the point from which the merchants of Greece sailed to purchase the grain and wool of the Ukraine, and the more costly products of Asia Minor and Persia. The commerce created by the Greeks at this point never ceased until Constantinople was taken by the Turks.† Now that the Turkish Government has become friendly to commerce, Constantinople has again become a great emporium for the trade of all the countries on the Black

* "They (the Tyrians) must be regarded as the most active intermediaries and "agents in the connection of nations, from the Indian Ocean to the West and North of "Europe."—*Humboldt's Cosmos: Mrs. Sabine's Translation*, ii., 125.

+ See a fine description of the wealth and greatness of Byzantium, chap. 53 of Gibbon.

Sea and the Mediterranean, and also a depôt for the trade in English goods, carried on with Turkey, Persia, and the southern provinces of Russia. Various other cities might be mentioned, which owe their greatness to the advantage of a double water carriage with distant seas. Such is Cadiz, built nearly three thousand years ago by the Phœnicians, to carry on the trade between the Mediterranean and the Atlantic Ocean;* Copenhagen, at the entrance of the Baltic; Aden, the gate of the Red Sea; and Singapore, whose admirable position was selected by Sir Stamford Raffles, one of the ablest statesmen of modern times, at the point where the Indian Ocean joins the Chinese and the Australian Seas, a point at which lines of steam navigation already converge,—on one side from India and Europe, on the other from China and Australia.

For three hundred years after Liverpool had been raised to the rank of a seaport, the commerce of England, and the intercourse with foreign countries, were chiefly directed to the continent of Europe; and hence those ports which were situated on the coasts adjoining to it, possessed great advantages over those which were more remote. The Cinque Ports, on or near the Straits of Dover, were at that time the chief places of communication with the Continent in time of peace; and Southampton (or Portsmouth) was the place at which the great naval and military expeditions, which were directed against the Continent, were assembled in time of war. It was at Portsmouth, and whilst preparing to sail for Guyenne, that Henry the Third gave his estates, between the Mersey and the Ribble, including the borough of Liverpool, to Ranulf, Earl of Chester. The Cinque Ports of Dover, Sandwich, Hastings, Hythe, and Romney, possessed a greater number of ships than any other ports, with the exception of London.† They had a monopoly of conducting passengers across the channel to the Continent, and held it on condition of furnishing fifty-two vessels in time of war, for the defence of the channel and the coasts. This monopoly became vested in the port of Dover, as the harbours of Sandwich, Hastings, Hythe, and Romney were gradually destroyed by the drifting of sand, and other causes. An order is still in existence, addressed to the Mayor and Bailiffs of Liverpool, in the reign of Edward the Third, informing them, that travellers proceeding to the Continent must take their course through Dover or Southampton; but that parties proceeding to Ireland may sail from Bristol, Chester, Liverpool, or any other port. At that time the merchants of London, and the other cities along the

* Heeren's Historical Researches, i., 317.

† See Sir Henry Ellis's Introduction to Domesday.

eastern side of the island, had a considerable commercial intercourse with Germany and Flanders ; and occasionally the vessels of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, entered the southern ports of England, from London to Bristol. There is no trace of their ever having sailed up the Irish Channel. Political causes produced a frequent intercourse between England and the English provinces on the Continent ; and religious affairs occasioned a constant intercourse with Rome, the capital of the Christian world.

When Liverpool was raised to the rank of a free borough on the sea, the commerce of the world was in the hands of Venice, Genoa, Pisa, and Florence ; and of the free cities of Germany, forming the Hanseatic League. An eloquent native historian, whose works are admired wherever taste and learning are appreciated, and whose memory will ever be honored in the town of which he was the brightest ornament—William Roscoe—speaking of Venice, says, “ The superiority which it had acquired, was “ in a great degree derived from the extensive commerce then carried on “ by the Venetians, to different parts of the East, the valuable productions “ of which were conveyed, by way of Egypt, into the Mediterranean, and “ from thence distributed by the Venetians, throughout the rest of Europe. “ In this branch of commerce the Genoese and Florentines had succes- “ sively attempted to rival them ; but, though each of these people, and “ particularly the latter, had obtained a considerable portion of this “ lucrative trade, the Venetians maintained a decided superiority, until the “ discovery of a new and more expeditious communication with India, by “ the Cape of Good Hope, turned the course of Eastern traffic into a new “ channel.”* In addition to the great trade which the Venetians carried on with Egypt, they also traded extensively with Constantinople, and with other parts of the Greek Empire. Constantinople still retained much of its original greatness.† The extent of its wealth may be judged from the fact, that when it was stormed and taken by the Venetians and the Crusaders, in the year 1204, the plunder of the city amounted to four hundred thousand marks of silver, equal in weight to £800,000 of our present money, and in exchangeable value to four or five times that sum. In addition to Venice, Genoa, Pisa, Milan, and all the cities of Northern Italy flourished in wealth and population at that age ; whilst the rich soil of Lombardy, refreshed and renewed by the streams swelled by the melting of the snows of the Alps, and by a skilful system of artificial irrigation,

* Roscoe's *Life of Lorenzo di Medici*, i., 121.

† See *Account of the Storming of Constantinople*, by the Venetians and Crusaders, chapter 60 of Gibbon.

yielded the corn, wine, and oil required for the support of a large population, and silk for the finest products of the loom. When Venice was in her glory, which was in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the value of the goods exported by sea is said to have been ten millions of ducats, and the profits on the foreign trade four million ducats per annum. Venice had at that time 3000 vessels, of from 100 to 200 tons burthen, manned by 17,000 sailors; 300 large ships, manned by 8000; and a navy for the defence of the republic, the government of her colonies, and the protection of foreign trade, consisting of 45 war galleys, manned by 11,000 seamen.* At that time the vessels of Venice visited every port of the Mediterranean and every coast of Europe, and her commerce was probably nearly equal to that of all other countries united.

At an early period, the merchants of Venice, Milan, and other great cities of Italy, had established a commercial intercourse across the Alps, with the south of Germany, and the rich valley of the Rhine. Zurich and Inspruck were the resting places of the merchants, who conducted the silver, the embroidery, the glass, the arms and armour, the spices and other articles with which the Italians traded to the north of Europe across those awful solitudes. The venerable City of Augsburg, situated on one of the tributaries of the Danube, was the point at which the merchandise of Venice was shipped to all the countries lying on the banks of that mighty river. Basle was the place of shipment for the rich valley of the Rhine and Northern Europe. The great league of the German Cities, called the Hanseatic League, grew out of this commerce, which was the means of diffusing wealth and municipal freedom through the cities on the banks of the Rhine and of the Danube; and of creating a new centre of civilization north of the Alps, from which wealth and intelligence radiated, westward to Bristol and Waterford, and eastward to Novogorod, in Russia. Lubec was the head of the first section of the league; Cologne of the second; Brunswick of the third; and Dantzic of the fourth. When this great confederation was in its highest glory, it included from seventy to eighty cities. It was the Cologne branch of the league, which carried on the most active intercourse with London, where the merchants of Cologne had a Guild Hall. As the seas became safe from the ravages of pirates, and the mouths of rivers ceased to be infested by their fleets, cities began to spring up in the rich and level districts near the mouths of the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Scheldt. About the time when

* Daru's History of Venice, ii., 189.

Liverpool was struggling into existence, the people of the Netherlands began to display those talents for the useful arts, which placed Flanders, and afterwards Holland, in the first rank among the nations of Northern Europe. A hundred years later Liege, Ipres, Ghent, and Antwerp were crowded with an industrious, enterprising, high-spirited population, who paid a nominal obedience to the house of Burgundy, but managed all their own internal affairs. The manufactures and agriculture of Flanders soon rivalled those of Lombardy; and at a later period the commerce of Holland surpassed that of Venice. The weavers of Flanders introduced one of the greatest branches of industry into England, in the reign of Henry the Second; and at a later period the rude agriculture of England adopted from the same country, the rotation of crops, the cultivation of artificial grasses and roots, and most of those improvements which we see in the best cultivated districts of England and Scotland. These form as great an improvement on the rude culture of our ancestors, as the machinery of the present day does on the ancient spindle and loom. Norwich, Lincoln, Colchester, and other towns in the eastern counties, were the first to imitate and rival the manufactures of Flanders; as Norfolk and Lincolnshire have since imitated, and in some respects excelled its agriculture.

At the time of which I speak, Liverpool stood nearly at the extremity of the known world. Little was known of the great ocean which stretched to the west, except that it washed the shores of Ireland, and of Iceland; the former a country wasted by continual wars, the latter an island, encircled with ice, and buried in snow and darkness. A feeble settlement had indeed been formed by the Danes, in the still more dreary regions of Greenland; and evidence exists, that the same enterprising people visited various points of the coast of North America, to which they gave the names of Winland and Markland; and even pushed as far south as the territory which forms the present states of Virginia and North Carolina. Evidence has also been discovered, that the Island of Iceland was in part colonized by natives of Scotland and Ireland.*

* "Amongst other things we know, with regard to Iceland in particular, that many natives of Scotland and Ireland were among its earliest inhabitants. This information we have from an old history of the whole settlement of that island, called the *Landnamabok*, compiled about the year 1100, and continued in the 13th century. It is in this way that many Icelanders, and, among others, the celebrated sculptor Thorvaldsen, are still able to deduce their descent, in uninterrupted succession, from natives of Britain or Ireland, some of them of princely lineage, who had settled in Iceland as far back as the times of Paganism." —*Guide to Northern Archæology, edited for the use of English readers, by the Right Hon. the Earl of Ellesmere*, 7.—See account of the Discoveries of the Northmen, on the coast of America, in the same interesting work; and in the second volume of Humboldt's *Cosmos*.

These early discoveries, however, and this feeble attempt at colonization, produced no lasting or notable effect on the trade of England. For many ages the intercourse from the north-western parts of the island, especially from Liverpool, was confined to Ireland, Scotland, and Wales; and even with those countries it arose, not from commerce, but from the sending out of naval and military expeditions, for the purposes of conquest or defence. We find very few traces of commerce at Liverpool previous to the reign of Henry the Eighth, but before that time the Kings of England occasionally assembled large bodies of troops at the Castle of Liverpool for attacks on Ireland, Scotland, and Wales; the great family of the De Lacys, of Halton Castle, brought together in this port the knights and followers whom they collected on their large estates in Cheshire, Lancashire, and Yorkshire, for new, but most barren, conquests in Meath and Ulster; the Molyneuxes assembled at Liverpool the billmen and bowmen, with whom they kept garrison at Beaumaris Castle; and the Stanleys maintained a more regular intercourse between their tower in Liverpool and their castles in the kingdom of Man. Beyond the occasional bustle produced by these movements; by the passing of a Viceroy of Ireland; or the sudden assembling of a fleet in the port of Liverpool, to watch the movements and defeat the plans of Robert Bruce and his daring Lieutenants, or to aid new invasions of Scotland, Ireland and Wales, Liverpool was little frequented in ancient times. Its position at that time was nearly the worst in the empire for communicating with foreign countries, even if it had possessed any means of bringing the materials of commerce from the interior. This it did not: its water communication with the interior extended no further than Runcorn, about twenty miles up the Mersey, and there was no paved road on either bank of the river. In addition to these disadvantages, Liverpool and the other ports on the western side of the island were exposed to the depredations of the Northern pirates, long after they had been driven from the German Ocean. Before and after the Conquest, chiefs of that race governed in Dublin, Waterford, and some other cities, who occasionally paid an unwilling homage to the more powerful of the Irish chiefs, but who much more frequently defied them, by the aid of the Northern pirates, who then infested the Western Seas with powerful fleets. The Isle of Man was at that time the head quarters of these daring sea kings; but there was scarcely an island, on the western coast of Britain, from Shetland to the Isles of Scilly, which was not either permanently occupied, or frequently visited, by them. It appears, from the Chronicles

of the Kings of Man, that these piratical chiefs maintained a frequent intercourse with Norway and Denmark, from which countries they drew constant supplies of men and ships.* These they supported by plundering the coasts of the three kingdoms, and selling the captives, who had the misfortune to fall into their hands, as slaves, to the Irish Chieftains. The first great blow given to their power was struck by King John, who assembled a large fleet in the western seas, three years after he had founded the port of Liverpool, and laid waste to the Isle of Man for fifteen days, taking hostages for the better behaviour of these adventurers. A few years afterwards they were defeated, with great loss, at Largs, on the Clyde, in a daring attempt to conquer Scotland. But it was not until Robert Bruce had besieged and taken their stronghold, at Castle Rushin, in 1313, that the western seas were freed from their incursions, and became safe for the purposes of commerce. With such a position, and in the midst of such dangers, there was nothing to create commerce between Liverpool and foreign countries. There was just as little to promote it at home.

The most common of all the facilities of communication which have created commerce in particular cities, is that formed by the existence of large navigable rivers, flowing through rich and extensive valleys. In ancient times, the Nile, which flows for upwards of two thousand seven hundred miles, through the great valley of Egypt and Nubia, which it irrigates and enriches with its waters, and causes to pour forth all the products both of temperate and tropical climates, was one of the principal causes of the greatness of Alexandria.† The rapid Rhone, which brings down to the Mediterranean the products of the southern provinces of France, and which was, in the time of the Greeks, the means of carrying on an extensive river trade with Britain and the North of Europe, created the commercial greatness of Marseilles, more than two thousand years ago, and has sustained it through the revolutions of twenty centuries.‡ The beautiful River Rhine, which flows through a valley more extensive than the whole of England, was not only the great means of spreading commerce and civilization through the North of Europe, by conveying the manufactures of Venice, and the luxuries of the East, to Northern Europe, but was also the chief creator of the commercial greatness of Holland and of the Netherlands. Venice owed much of its commercial importance to the easy

* See Chronicles of Man, in Camden's Britannia.

† Mrs. Somerville's Physical Geography, i., 281.

‡ Humboldt's Cosmos.

communication afforded by the River Po and its numerous tributaries with the rich plains, and beautiful cities, of Lombardy and the Milanese.* The Scheldt and the Meuse were amongst the principal causes of the greatness of Antwerp. The Elbe has sustained Hamburg in the rank of the first commercial city of Germany, although Lubec, which formerly surpassed it in population and wealth, has lost its commercial importance, since the trade with the Baltic changed its course. The Vistula, winding through the immense plains of Poland, has produced the commercial greatness of Dantzic; the Seine, that of Havre; the Garonne, that of Bordeaux; the Douro, that of Oporto; and the Tagus, that of Lisbon. In the East, Calcutta has been created by the Ganges and the Hoogley; and Shanghae, and the other great cities of China, by the stupendous rivers of which they are the outlets. In the New World, Buenos Ayres has become a port of the first importance, from the facilities afforded by the Parana, which is navigable upwards of fifteen hundred miles above its mouth; and each of the large rivers of South America, with the exception perhaps of the Oronoko, has given rise to a commercial city of some importance, notwithstanding the anti-commercial policy of Spain and Portugal, and the frequent revolutions which have occurred since the colonies of those countries established their independence. These, however, must yield the precedence, to the great and wealthy cities, which the energy and intelligence of the Anglo-Americans are creating at the mouths of the splendid rivers of North America. Montreal has tripled its population within the last forty years, from the facilities afforded by the St. Lawrence, for bringing down the products of a magnificent valley, containing upwards of five hundred and thirty million square miles, either of land or of fresh water lakes.† New York, which had already been made a great city, by its admirable position on the Hudson, has been secured in its rank, as the capital of North America, by the foresight and public spirit of its distinguished citizen, De Witt Clinton, who united the Hudson with the St. Lawrence and the American Lakes, by means of the Western Canal; and thus made that city the outlet, not only of its own beautiful valley of the Hudson, but of the much greater valley of the St. Lawrence. Philadelphia, Baltimore, Charleston, Savannah, and Mobile, all owe much of their importance, and of the rapidity of their rise, to the ease with which they communicate with large and fertile districts of the interior, by means of considerable streams. All these, however, if not New York itself, will have ultimately to yield to New Orleans,

* Daru's Venice, xix.

† Mrs. Somerville's Physical Geography, ii., 1.

which promises to become the first commercial city in America if not in the world, from the unparalleled advantages of its position, at the mouth of the Mississippi—a mighty stream—which, joined with the still mightier Missouri, the beautiful Ohio, the Arkansas, and other immense tributaries, gives to New Orleans an inland navigation of twenty thousand miles, communicating with every part of a valley, containing a million and a quarter of square miles of the richest land yielding all the products of the temperate, and most of those of the torrid zone.*

The rise of the more ancient seaports of England, like that of the cities which I have enumerated above, may be clearly traced to the convenience of their positions on the principal navigable rivers of the kingdom.

London, which is the outlet of the valley of the Thames, was a great commercial city, during the dominion of the Romans, in Britain. The sagacious historian who informs us of this fact, states, that London was renowned, as early as the reign of the Emperor Nero, for the number of merchants who frequented its port, and the abundance of the supplies which it furnished, although it did not possess the advantage of being a Roman colony.† The River Thames was the true creator of London. It furnished the means, by which the products of the most fruitful valley in England, containing upwards of six thousand six hundred square miles, were brought together at its port.‡ This valley includes the greater portion of the counties of Kent and Essex, Surrey and Hampshire, Berkshire, Wiltshire, Buckinghamshire, Middlesex, and Oxfordshire—counties which contain the finest corn-fields, and the richest pastures, in England. The tides of the German Ocean flow up the Thames not less than seventy miles; and the stream is navigable, for vessels of fifty tons, one hundred and thirty-eight miles above London.§ It also approaches within a few miles of one of the streams which flow into the Severn; and thus furnishes a natural water communication, extending through the broadest and richest part of the island, from the Eastern to the Western Seas. The Thames adds to these great advantages, the further advantage of possessing a harbour, which gives a perfect shelter from every storm, and a depth of water sufficient for the largest vessels. It is also within a couple of days' sail of the mouth of the Rhine, and of those portions of the Continent of Europe, in which arts and civilization first revived, after the downfall of the Roman Empire. These causes raised it to commercial importance, upwards of sixteen hundred years ago; kept it in existence during the

* Mrs. Somerville's Physical Geography, ii., 4. + Annals of Tacitus, Book xiv.

† Penny Cyclopædia—Thames.

§ Maitland's History of London, i., 57.

storms of the Saxon and the Danish periods ; gave a fresh impulse to its prosperity, on the establishment of the Norman Government ; and have promoted and extended its prosperity, until it has surpassed every other city of the world, in population and wealth, and has become the main-spring and regulator, of the commerce of the world.

Looking at the commercial and political events which have occurred on the banks of the River Thames, if not to the size of the river, we may almost agree in the eulogium pronounced upon it by our partial historian of London :—" The River Thames," says Maitland, " if considered in its " rise, course, extent, navigation, produce, and the innumerable number " of people it wholly maintains, is not to be equalled by any other river in " the whole world."

The following facts regarding the early history of London throw light on the progress of English commerce. London (as I have already mentioned) was a great commercial city, during the dominion of the Romans in Britain ; and we learn, from the most ancient British historians, Gildas and Nennius, that the Thames was one of the two great commercial rivers of the Britons, after the retirement of the Romans from this island. The venerable Bede informs us that London was the chief city of the Britons, when the Saxons arrived in Britain. London was more than once taken by the Danes during their struggles with the Saxons, but was re-taken by Alfred the Great and other Saxon Kings. The lithesmen, or seamen of London, as well as the citizens of London, were distinguished for their courage in those early times. It was during these wars that Southwark, or the southern fortress, was built to protect the city on that side. London is said to have paid no less a sum than ten thousand pounds to the Danish conqueror Canute, a sum equal to one hundred and fifty thousand pounds of our present money : but this is scarcely credible. The city had many commercial privileges previous to the Norman Conquest, which were respected and confirmed by William the Conqueror, after the battle of Hastings. Henry the First, the youngest son of the Conqueror, granted a commercial charter to London, which has served as a model for the Charters granted to the other cities and boroughs of the Kingdom. In the reign of Henry the Second, the citizens of London (who were liable to pay the description of taxes called tallages, which the Kings and nobles imposed on their immediate dependents) gave a donum, or gift of one thousand and forty-three pounds, equal to sixteen thousand pounds of our money, to escape being tallaged ; and during the same reign they repeatedly paid a thousand marks, equal to ten thousand

pounds, for a similar exemption. In the year 1197, Richard the First, on his return from Palestine, granted a new Charter to the city, together with the conservancy of the River Thames, on payment of one thousand five hundred marks, equal to about fifteen thousand pounds of our money. King John, the enfranchiser of Liverpool, and the most liberal granter of commercial charters of all our early kings, granted three charters to the Londoners, but made them pay somewhat heavily for them. For one of these charters the citizens agreed to pay three thousand marks, equal to thirty thousand pounds of our money; for another they consented to pay the king a fee farm rent of three hundred pounds a year, equal to four thousand five hundred pounds, as compensation for the petty taxes or dues paid by foreigners, or non-freemen, trading to the port of London, and in place of the other branches of the *Jura Regalia*, or rights of the Crown. The city of London joined the Barons in the struggle with King John, which led to the granting of the great Charter. The rights of the city of London are specially provided for by one of the articles of that charter. In the succeeding reign of Henry the Third, the citizens of London again joined the Barons, headed by Simon de Montfort, in the struggle for a representative Government, and when that struggle failed (for the time), they were deprived of all their charters, and were fined twenty thousand marks, or two hundred thousand pounds, for the part which they had taken in it. It was in this reign that the King declared that the citizens of London were rich enough to buy the treasures of Cæsar Augustus. In the succeeding reign of Edward the First, the citizens of London recovered their charters, and again took a decided part in the struggle between the Barons and the King which led to the establishment of the leading principles of that excellent form of government which has existed ever since, and under which England has attained its present position amongst the nations of the world.*

Flourishing cities existed on the banks of the River Severn, as early as the time of the Romans; and we are informed by the two most ancient of British writers, that the Britons employed the Severn, as well as the Thames, to carry on their commerce with foreign nations.† The valley of the Severn, with those of the numerous beautiful rivers which discharge their waters into the main stream, extends over a surface of nearly six thousand square miles; and includes the most fertile districts of Somerset, Gloucester, Worcester, Warwick, Shropshire, Herefordshire, and Monmouthshire—a beautiful and romantic region—several portions of which

* See Maitland's History of London, 1.

† Gildas and Nennius.

claim to be the Garden of England. The Severn is naturally navigable for about two hundred miles;* it communicates with the valley of the Thames, by Stroudwater, and with the valley of the Kennett by the lower Avon, which was navigable so early as the reign of Richard the First.† Bristol probably owes the lead which it has taken, over all the other ports in the valley of the Severn, to the extraordinary security of its natural harbour, formed at the point of junction of the Avon and the Frome. From a very early period it derived abundant supplies of commodities, for purposes of commerce, from the corn-fields, and rich pastures, in the valley of the Severn; from the Downs of Cotswold and Herefordshire, which were famous for producing the finest wool in England;‡ from the salt mines of Worcestershire, which were worked before the Conquest; from the iron mines of the Forest of Deane, which were also worked at the same time;§ and from the tin and copper mines of Cornwall and Devonshire, whose produce was floated up the estuary of the Severn. From a very early period, Bristol was the chief port of communication with Ireland. The city of Dublin was governed on the model of the city of Bristol, and was, in a great measure, created by and subordinate to it.||

Previous to the Norman Conquest, all the commercial towns of England carried on a trade in slaves; and Bristol and Chester, which were situated near the frontiers of Wales, where war was continually raging, were noted for their share in this traffic. At that time slavery existed in every country in Europe; and in England the price of slaves was regulated by the Saxon Kings in the same tariffs of prices in which they regulated (or pretended to regulate) the prices of cattle, sheep, and swine. It was the sight of a number of beautiful children, natives of the province of Deira, in the north of England, on sale in the slave market at Rome, which first inspired Gregory the Great with the noble desire to introduce Christianity amongst our Pagan ancestors; and one of the greatest triumphs of the preaching of St. Wolfstan, who was Bishop of Worcester at the time of the Norman Conquest, was that he had influence enough to persuade the citizens of Bristol, and, through their example, many others, to abandon the traffic in slaves. It ought to be mentioned, in justice to a monarch whose character for humanity cannot afford to lose the credit of a single good action—I mean William the Conqueror—

* Penny Cyclopædia—Severn.

† Barrett's History of Bristol, 678.

‡ Camden's Britannia, 472.

§ Giraldus Cambrensis.

|| Leland's History of Ireland, i., 81.

that he passed a law which put an end to the slave trade with foreign countries, which had existed during the whole of the Saxon dynasty. The following law of his on this subject reads more like a law of William Wilberforce than of William the Conqueror:—"We forbid any one to sell a Christian out of the land, but more especially into a Paganish country: let us take care that the soul which God redeemed with his own life be not lost."*

The Romans had a station near Bristol, but it was not one of any great celebrity. Their principal station on the Lower Avon was at Bath. Bristol was a place of consequence before the Norman Conquest. At the time of the Conquest, it was part of the royal demesne. In the reign of Henry the Second, Bristol paid a thousand marks towards the expenses of the first expedition against Ireland; and in the second year of King John, it again paid a thousand marks for the same purpose. The men of Redcliffe, near Bristol (probably the Knights Templars), also paid a thousand marks for the same object; and the citizens of Gloucester paid five hundred.† The fee farm rent of Bristol amounted to two hundred and forty-five pounds a year, in the year 1225, about which time the fee farm rent of Liverpool amounted to ten pounds!

Another extensive system of internal water communications, is that formed by the rivers Ouse and Nene, two streams, which after flowing parallel to each other for more than a hundred miles, discharge their waters into the gulf or bay called the Wash, within a few miles of the same point. At a very early period, the port of Lynn, at the mouth of the river Nene, became a place of great trade, and served as a point of communication with both the valleys which I have mentioned. So long as the foreign commerce of England depended on the export of the products of its pastures and corn-fields, Lynn, in Norfolk, ranked with the first commercial cities in the empire. The district around Lynn was celebrated in ancient times for its extraordinary fertility, which was caused by the periodical overflowing of the Nene and the Ouse. Lynn was also the port of the counties of Huntingdon, Cambridge, Northampton, Bedford, and of West Suffolk and West Norfolk, districts which still rank amongst the richest and best cultivated in England. Unfortunately for the modern prosperity of Lynn, the valleys of the Nene and Ouse are entirely destitute of minerals, and of other means of manufacturing industry; hence that port has declined in importance since the agricultural

* *Kelham's Laws of William the Conqueror* (attached to his *Norman Dictionary*), Law xli., 63.

† *Barrett's History of Bristol—Annals.*

wealth of the country has ceased to afford a surplus of grain and other produce, to be exported to foreign nations. It still carries on a very extensive coasting trade, and is one of the granaries of London.

The tax of Quinzeme, or Fifteenths, produced £651 11s. 11d. at Lynn, in the sixth year of the reign of King John, when it was the fourth outport of the kingdom. The great customs paid at Lynn, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, amounted to £1661 15s. 10d., at which time it was the first of the outports.

Soon after the Norman conquest, several small ports contended for the commerce created by the numerous rivers, which discharge their waters into the great estuary of the Humber. This is the largest of all the systems of rivers in England, and drains a country extending over a surface of nine thousand square miles.* Grimsby, the most ancient port on the Humber, was built by the Danes, at the time when they possessed the kingdom of East Anglia;† and it was for a considerable time the principal port of the Humber. Unfortunately for its prosperity, it lies in too exposed a situation, and it is only in the present times that artificial docks have been constructed there for the protection of shipping. In the reign of King John, Hedon, a port situated a few miles below Hull, was a place of some note; as was also Selby, the birthplace of Henry the First, the first English born King of the Norman race, and Barton, at the mouth of the river Trent. The growth of the commerce of the Humber was greatly impeded, in early times, by the ravages of the Danish and Norwegian pirates, who infested its waters, plundered its coasts, and drove the greater part of its commerce to more secure points, higher up the streams of the Ouse and the Trent, as to York and Lincoln, both of which cities ranked as ports of the sea, in the reign of King John.‡ Soon after the Conquest, however, a port began to rise on the banks of the river Hull, which soon outstripped all the other ports of the Humber, and which received the name of Kingston-upon-Hull, in the reign of Edward the First. The chief cause of the rise of Hull was the excellence of its port, which is situated a little above the point where the river Hull falls into the Humber. As early as the reign of King John, Hull had taken the lead of Grimsby, and of all the smaller ports of the Humber; and in the reign of Edward the First, it had become one of the most flourishing seaports in the Kingdom. It has continued to be so ever since.

* Penny Cyclopædia—Humber.

+ Snorre's Heimskringla, i., 129.

‡ See List of Ports of the Sea, in a succeeding page.

Hull paid £344 14s. 7½d. to the tax of Quinzeme or the Fifteenths, in the sixth year of the reign of King John, when it was the fifth outport in the kingdom. It paid £1,515 18s. 3d. to the great customs, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when it was the second outport. The first charter which is known to exist is that of the 29th Edward the First, 1299, but I can scarcely believe that there were not earlier charters than this, though nothing is known of them.

The River Trent was the principal means of communication between the richer and more thickly-peopled south and the ruder north in ancient times. The burgesses of Nottingham were bound to keep open the navigation of the Trent from Nottingham to Torksey, opposite to Lincoln, and to conduct the King's messengers from their borough to that place. The burgesses of Torksey were then bound to conduct them to York. This they could do easily, by dropping down the Trent to the point where it falls into the Humber, and by then ascending the Ouse with the tide. By this route they had the advantage of a good and safe navigation, and the aid of the propelling power either of the stream of the Trent, or of the tides of the Humber, nearly all the way. By taking this route, they not only travelled much faster than by land, but they avoided Sherwood Forest, with Robin Hood and his merry men—people whom it is very pleasant to read about in *Ivanhoe*, but must have been disagreeable to meet in the dusk on the King's highway. From the advantage of this intercourse, and the ease with which it communicated with Derby, Burton, and Stafford, up the valley of the Trent, and Newark and Lincoln down the stream, Nottingham became a place of the greatest importance in early times. In the year 1342, the ninth part of the moveables of the men of Nottingham was of the value of £465 10s. 4d. of the money of that day, or equal to £6,517 4s. 4d. of the present, at a time when the ninth part of the goods of the men of Liverpool was only worth £6 17s. 6d., or about £96 5s. of our money.* This gives Nottingham a capital of £58,654 19s., and Liverpool one of £866 5s.

Until the reign of Henry the Third, a considerable portion of the trade, created by the river Trent, left that river at Torksey, which is about seven miles from Lincoln, and passed down to Botolfston, or Boston, by the River Witham. In order to promote this trade, the Fossdyke was turned into a navigable canal, in the reign of Henry the Third.† At that time Lincoln was one of the most populous cities in England; and had a

* *Nonarum Inquisitiones*, 292

† *Calendarium Rotulorum Patentium*.

market, to which men flocked both by land and water. The Witham was then navigable from Boston to Lincoln; but, owing to the slowness of its current, it has been impossible to keep it deep enough for the purposes of navigation, without continual clearing.* From this cause it has gradually gone to decay as a navigable stream. The port of Boston has also been ruined by the collecting of sand banks. At the time when Liverpool was founded, the whole of the country about Boston was cultivated like a garden, and was every year enriched by the overflowing of the Witham.† Soon after that time a great irruption of the sea took place, by which the district of Holland, in Lincolnshire, was laid waste. It was only by slow and laborious efforts that the fertility of the soil was restored. The commerce of Boston has never revived.‡

Boston paid £780 15s. 3d. to the tax of Quinzeme or the Fifteenths, in the reign of John, but only £168 2s. 11½d. to the Great Customs, in the reign of Elizabeth. The beautiful City of Boston, in New England, was founded by a body of emigrants, who sailed from Boston, in Lincolnshire. It was originally called Trimountain, from three hills round the Bay, one of which was the famous Bunker's Hill. The name was afterwards changed to Boston; it is said out of respect for the Rev. Mr. Cotton, who had been minister of Boston in England, but more likely from some yearnings after the 'old country.'§

Newcastle-upon-Tyne, though not situated upon a river possessing any great extent of internal navigation, possesses an excellent water communication, from the coal-field of Northumberland, to the best markets for the consumption of fuel.|| It owes every thing to the abundant supplies of coal, furnished by the country intersected by the River Tyne. That river flows for many miles through one of the richest coal-fields in England, and gives every facility for shipping coal to the London market, and to the eastern and southern districts of the Kingdom.

Newcastle-on-Tyne was founded by William Rufus during the life of the Conqueror. Henry the First granted a charter to Newcastle; Henry

* Dugdale on Embankment, 176-7.

† William of Malmesbury gives the following account of the Fen Country:—"The fens were a very paradise, and seemed a heaven for the delight and beauty thereof: in the very marshes bearing goodly trees, which for tallness, as also without knots, strived to reach up to the stars. It is a plain country, and as level as the sea, which with green grass allureth the eye. There is not the least portion of ground that lies waste and void there; here you shall find the earth rising somewhat for apple trees; there you shall have a field set with vines, which either crop upon the ground, or mount on high poles to support them."

‡ Winterbotham's History of America, ii., 141.

§ Pishey Thompson's History of Boston, 233.

|| Brande's History of Newcastle, ii., 30.

the Second granted another. In the year 1214, the fee-farm rent, or petty taxes paid to King John produced £50, equal to about £750 of our money; in 1275, the fee-farm rent of Newcastle was declared to be worth £100. Newcastle paid £158 5s. 11d. to the tax of Fifteenths in the sixth year of the reign of King John; and £229 8s. 3d. to the great customs in the reign of Elizabeth.

The six ports which I have enumerated—London, Bristol, Lynn, Hull, Boston, and Newcastle—were the great commercial ports of ancient times. Southampton, which was also a place of some importance, was rather a naval than a commercial station, although it carried on a considerable commerce with the Continent, at the time when the neighbouring city of Winchester was the most flourishing place in the kingdom, the residence of Alfred the Great and of the other Kings of the West Saxon dynasty. The importance of Southampton greatly decreased when the seat of government was removed from Winchester to London. Still it retained a considerable naval importance, from the fact that there the Norman and Plantagenet Kings collected the ships for the numerous expeditions which they led into France, either to defend their own dominions in Normandy, Anjou, and Guyenne, or to assail those of France. At that time few places possessed ships, except those lying between London and Southampton, including the cinque ports of Sandwich, Dover, Winchelsea, Hythe, and Romney, all of which have gone to ruin, except Dover.* On occasions of military expeditions, all the shipping of the neighbouring ports was collected at Southampton, or Portsmouth, which names are indifferently applied in ancient histories. The earliest docks of which we have any account were the docks, or exclusa, which the Sheriff of Hampshire was ordered to construct, and enclose, at Southampton, for the protection of the war galleys of King John.†

The fee-farm rent, or the Jura Regalia of Southampton, produced £200 a-year. Southampton paid to the tax of Fifteenths, in the reign of John, £712 3s. 7d. It was then the first of the outports.

The importance of the port of Chester, like that of Southampton, was chiefly political. Chester was a fortress of the first order, under the Romans, Saxons, and Normans, and was constantly garrisoned with troops, appointed to watch the daring mountaineers of North Wales, who were alike prompt in attacking their enemies, and resolute in resisting

* Sir Henry Ellis's Introduction to Domesday.

† T. D. Hardy's Introduction to the Close Rolls.

their attacks. It was also the residence of an Earl, who possessed all the authority of an independent Prince; and of the Bishops of Lichfield, who were known by the title of Bishops of Chester, long before the modern bishopric of Chester was created by Henry the Eighth. It was also the seat of a wealthy clergy, of many flourishing monasteries, and of a numerous gentry. Its commerce depended on the rich salt mines in the valley of the Weaver, with which it was connected by a military road formed by the Romans; and on the cheese, hides, skins, and fish yielded by the neighbouring pastures, woods, and streams.* Chester possessed many elements of prosperity, and might have become a flourishing commercial port, if its harbour had not been ruined by enormous masses of sand drifted into it by the storms of the Atlantic. This evil began to be felt very soon after the Conquest; and continued to increase, until the commercial importance of Chester was entirely lost, and that of Liverpool had risen on its ruins.

The river Mersey, at whose mouth the port of Liverpool is situated, is an insignificant stream, both as relates to the length of its course, and the volume of water which it carries to the sea. The length of the central stream, which divides Lancashire from Cheshire, is not more than forty miles, from the point where it leaves the Derbyshire hills, to that at which it enters the estuary at Runcorn. Including the estuary, its length is not more than sixty miles. Its principal tributary is the Irwell, which brings down the waters of numerous smaller streams from the hills of central Lancashire. The united stream is not more than forty yards in width, at the point where the tides begin to be felt, opposite to Warrington. The river Weaver, which enters the estuary of the Mersey below Runcorn, is a still smaller stream. None of these rivers were navigable until the end of the Seventeenth Century, so that Liverpool, in the early period of its existence, possessed none of those advantages of water communication, with the interior, from which London, Bristol, Lynn, and Hull derived so much of their early wealth. The numerous and extensive water communications with the interior, which Liverpool now possesses, are entirely the result of art and labour, and have all been formed in modern times.

The first improvement made in the River Mersey, was that of rendering it navigable from Runcorn to Warrington. The course of the river between those two places is extremely tortuous; so much so, that it has since been found more convenient to abandon the natural bed of the

* See Mortimer's History of Wirral, 118.

stream, and to form a canal. Mr. Thomas Patten, of Warrington, a member of the family of the Pattens of the Bank, was the author of this great step towards opening a communication with the interior. Writing to Mr. Richard Norris, of Speke, the member for Liverpool, in the year 1690, Mr. Patten, speaking of the evil produced by fish weirs in rivers, said:—"Then again, weares are as mischievous, another way, by their hindering the passage of ships, boats, and barges; as for example, in the same River Mersey, what a vast advantage would it be to Liverpool, if the river were made navigable to Manchester and Stockport. Since I made it navigable to Warrington, there have been sent to Liverpool, and from Liverpool, 2000 tons of goods in a year, and I believe as much by land, which, if the river were cleared of weares, would all go by water; for the river to Manchester is very capable of being made navigable at a very small charge. And this would encourage all tradesmen (in Manchester, Stockport, Macclesfield, Congleton, Bolton, Bury, Rochdale, some parts of Yorkshire, Derbyshire, and Staffordshire,) to come to Liverpool to buy their goods, instead of going to Chester, Bristol, or London; the carriage would be so easy and cheap: I think it would nearly double the trade of Liverpool."*

This suggestion did not bear fruit at once. Liverpool was at that time intent upon another great object, almost equally essential to the prosperity of the port, that was on the forming of the first great artificial dock ever constructed for commercial purposes in England. Still, the idea found favour in other quarters, and in the year 1712, Mr. Thomas Steers, the engineer of the Liverpool dock, was consulted by a number of Manchester gentlemen on the subject, and made a survey of the river, a plan of which lies before me. It is entitled "A Map of the Rivers Mersey and Irwell from Bank-key to Manchester, with an Account of the rising of the water, and how many locks it will require to make it navigable; surveyed by order of the gentlemen at Manchester, by Thos. Steers, 1712." In order to recommend the undertaking to public favour, the following statement of advantages is engraved on the plan:—"The inland parts of Lancashire and Yorkshire being favoured with great variety of valuable manufactures in woollen, linen, cotton, &c., and that in very great quantities, has made that neighbourhood as populous, if not more so (London and Middlesex excepted), as the same extent of any part of Great Britain. The trades of these counties extend consider-

* Norris Papers, 38.

ably through the whole island, as well as abroad; and the consumption of groceries, Irish wool, dying stuffs, and other imported goods, consequently is very great, but as yet not favoured with the conveniency of water carriage, though Providence, from the port of Liverpool up to the most considerable inland town of trade in Lancashire, Manchester, has afforded the best not yet employed rivers of Mersey and Irwell, for that purpose. Those rivers are here described from Bank-key (whither from Liverpool the navigation at present is used). The conveniences of the navigation carried thence to Manchester, might one time or other be of the greatest importance in time of war, in joyning a communication of the East and West Seas of Great Britain, with only 28 miles of land carriage. The trade made more easy, by an expensive land carriage (cause in a deep and flat country) being turned into an easy and cheap water carriage, and Cheshire served with coals, flaggs and slate, far cheaper than at present.”*

A bill for carrying out this useful object was obtained in 1720, and soon after Liverpool had at length a water communication with Manchester.

In the same year (1720), permission was obtained to improve the navigation of the Weaver, and thus to connect the salt district of Cheshire with the port of Liverpool.

In the year 1755, a number of spirited persons, of whom Mr. John Ashton, an eminent merchant of Liverpool, was the head, formed a plan for connecting the western part of the great coal field of Lancashire with Liverpool, and with the salt district of Cheshire, by improving the navigation of the Sankey Brook. This plan was afterwards changed to the much bolder one of digging a navigable canal down the Sankey Valley, from the coal field of St. Helens to the Mersey, at Sankey Bridges, near Warrington. This canal was the precursor of the system of navigable canals. Although, from the small extent and easy nature of the works, it cannot be compared with the great works which the Duke of Bridgewater had then determined to attempt, and which that self-taught genius, James Brindley, was executing, still the Sankey Canal was a work of great merit, and of inestimable value to Liverpool, St. Helens, and the salt district of Cheshire.

A disappointment in an affair of the heart drove Francis, Duke of Bridgewater, from the Court, where his fortune, family, and youth gave him all the means of shining, and turned his attention to objects of the

* Map belonging to Mr. John Samuel Smith, of Liverpool, obligingly lent to the author.

highest importance, which he pursued with a zeal, constancy, and self-denial which have justly earned for him the title of the great Duke of Bridgewater. He was the first Englishman who seriously attempted, and risked a fine fortune in the attempt, to carry navigable canals across wide valleys, over deep rivers, and along purely artificial beds. The aqueduct across the Irwell at Barton was incomparably the first specimen of civil engineering in the kingdom at the time when it was executed, and it was long before it was surpassed. An eloquent writer has justly observed: "When the first barge passed over the Barton aqueduct, Bridgewater and Brindley might have still better reason for pride than Agrippa and his architect, when from the last stone of the Pont du Gard they looked down on the savage ravine, on which a freak of Roman vanity had chosen to exert its art pontifical."* This was the commencement of a series of works, which hold the same rank in the history of canals as the Liverpool and Manchester Railway holds in that of railways. "Descriptions," says the writer whom I have quoted, "more or less detailed, of the Duke's works, are to be found in many publications. It may be sufficient here to state, that the line of *open* navigation, constructed under his acts, beginning at Manchester, and branching in one direction to Runcorn and in another to Leigh, amounted in distance to some thirty-eight miles, all on one level, and admitting the large boats which navigate the estuary of the Mersey. Of this, the six miles from Worsley to Leigh were constructed after Brindley's decease. We use the expression open, because to this we have to add the extent of the subterranean navigable canals, by which the main produce of the Worsley coal-field is brought out in boats to be conveyed in the open canal to its various destinations. This singular work was commenced in 1759, and has been gradually pushed on as new coal-workings were opened and old ones became exhausted. Frisi speaks of them with much admiration, at a period when they extended about a mile and a half: at the time we write, the total length of tunnel amounts to forty-two miles and one furlong, of which somewhat less than two-thirds are in disuse and rendered inaccessible. There are in all four canals. The main line which commences at Worsley, is nine feet wide and nine feet high, including four feet depth of water. The others are the same height, but only eight feet wide. Two are respectively at fifty-six and eighty-three yards

* Quarterly Review, No. 146. Article on Aqueducts and Canals, bearing strong internal evidence of having been written by the present noble and accomplished possessor of the Bridgewater estates.

below the main line: the fourth is thirty-seven yards above it. The communication with the latter was formerly conducted by means of an inclined plane, which has however been disused since 1822, the coal being now brought by shafts to the surface. Distinguished persons have visited this curious nether world. The collective science of England was shut up in it for some hours, rather to the discomfiture of some of its members, when the British Association held its meeting at Manchester in 1843. Heads, if not crowned, destined to become so, have bowed themselves beneath its arched tunnels: amongst others that of the present Emperor of Russia. The Duc de Bordeaux is the last on the list."

After the great achievements of Bridgewater and Brindley, nothing was considered impossible in the construction of canals. Within a few years after the opening of the Bridgewater Canal, the daring idea was formed of connecting Liverpool with the manufacturing districts of Yorkshire—the Mersey with the Humber—and the Irish Sea with the German Ocean, by means of a canal carried across the central chain of hills which separates Yorkshire from Lancashire. A few years later Liverpool was connected with the Potteries and the iron districts of Staffordshire, and the Mersey with the Trent, by means of the Grand Junction Canal. Innumerable other schemes for constructing navigable canals were formed about the same time; nor did the impulse given by the Duke of Bridgewater and his great engineer to the public mind cease to be felt until upwards of one hundred and ten canals had been constructed, supplying two thousand four hundred miles of artificial navigation, and uniting with each other all the ancient navigable rivers of the kingdom.* The constructing of canals took the same strong hold on the minds of men in the latter half of the eighteenth century which the constructing of railways has taken in our own times; and though many follies and extravagancies were committed, and many unprofitable schemes were carried into execution, yet the general result was to add incalculably to the wealth of the country, and to pour an extraordinary portion of that wealth into this part of the kingdom, which took the same decided lead in the construction of canals which it has since taken in the construction of railways.

In the early periods of the history of Liverpool, this neighbourhood was as deficient in the communications supplied by good roads as in those supplied by inland navigations. Not the slightest trace can be discovered

* See Quarterly Review, No. 146.

in the western part of Lancashire of any of those great military roads which were formed by the Romans in nearly all parts of Britain, and which continued to be the high roads of the kingdom for upwards of a thousand years after the Roman legions had retired from the island. This is the more remarkable, as the eastern parts of the county and the whole of Cheshire are intersected by Roman roads. The road which the Romans formed from Chester to Warrington, and from Warrington, through the centre of South Lancashire, to the banks of the river Ribble, is still so distinctly marked that the greater part of it has been laid down within the last half-dozen years in the maps formed from the Ordnance survey. The Roman road from Chester to Manchester is also laid down in the same maps. It formed part of the line of communication between Chester, the head-quarters of the twentieth Roman Legion, and York, the head-quarters of the sixth Legion. The road from Manchester to Ribchester can also be distinctly traced. It is part of that stupendous line of road, nearly 4000 miles in length, which extended from the frontiers of the ancient Caledonia to the deserts of Syria, from Carlisle to Jerusalem.* These roads formed the most valuable legacy ever bequeathed by a civilized to a barbarous people. They were erected in the unwavering belief, that while the world stood imperial Rome would stand to rule it. With this faith, they were formed of the most durable materials, (brought from a distance when they did not exist upon the spot,) and were constructed on the plans of the ablest military engineers of Greece and Rome. Hence they have proved nearly indestructible; and from the judgment with which they were planned, they long continued to be used as the highways of the kingdom, by generations which scarcely knew the Roman name.† The great road from the Straits of Dover to Chester, Manchester, and the Caledonian Wall, to which the Saxons gave the name of Watling-street, was so perfect in the time of Alfred the Great, that it was made the boundary between the Saxon and the Danish territories, from the neighbourhood of Bedford to the river Mersey, in the treaty which that great king concluded with Guthrum, the Danish chief.‡ In the laws of William the Conqueror, the same Watling-street, together with the Roman roads called Fosse and Ermin-street, are spoken of as the

* Gibbon, chapter 2.

† Essay on the Roman Roads in Lancashire, by Mr. Just, Master of the Bury Grammar School, read before the Liverpool Historical Society.

‡ Palgrave's Rise of the English Commonwealth, 50.

three highways of the kingdom.* Six hundred years later, Watling-street is still spoken of as a boundary, in deeds executed in South Lancashire.† These roads, called the King's highways, were especially under the protection of the Crown, and travellers passing along them had always the satisfaction of knowing that if they were robbed on the King's highways, they could recover the value of the property stolen from them, from the hundred in which the robbery was committed. Hence the inhabitants of the hundreds through which they passed maintained a regular patrol upon them to prevent robberies,‡ and to clear themselves from responsibility.§ As I have already stated, not a vestige of any road of this description exists in the neighbourhood of Liverpool, or anywhere nearer to it than the line of road which entered the county at Warrington, and ran northward by Newton and Wigan to the river Ribble.

The oldest road of which we have any account near Liverpool is Smethom-lane, so named from the ancient manor and township of Smethom, or Esmedune, mentioned in Domesday Book. The manor of Smethom was laid waste by King John about the year 1204, to enlarge the deer park which he was then forming at Toxteth; but the road was spared. It ran along the east side of the park wall, from Wavertree to the Moss-lake, and skirted the Edge hill side of the lake, to the present Pembroke-place. At that point it crossed the stream, which then ran from the Moss-lake, and which fell into the Pool at the head of Byrom-street. It crossed Liverpool Heath by the line of the London-road, and descended by Shaw's-brow to the Townsend-bridge, at the end of Dale-street. From that point it was continued along Dale-street, which was long a rural lane, with the mansion of the Crosses on one side, and that of the Banistres on the other, and with gardens and green fields sloping down to the Pool, until it reached the High Cross, in front of the present Town-hall, from which point it was continued down Water-street, then called Banke-street, to the river. This Smethom-lane never seems to have been anything better than a lane; but it was much the oldest road from Liverpool into the country; and is the only one of which we find any distinct trace in ancient times. It has preserved the name of the township of Smethom for six hundred years after it was wasted by King John.

Travellers proceeding from Liverpool to the south, in those early

* Kelham's Laws of William the Conqueror, 30.

+ Whitaker's History of Whalley, 12.

† Palgrave's Rise of the English Constitution, 200.

§ Maddox's Firma Burgi. Notes 158.

times, crossed the Mersey to the Priory at Birkenhead, from which point they made their way along the tracks over the forest of Wirral to Chester, where they got on one of the noble roads formed by the Romans. They were then on the King's highway; and continued upon it all the way to London. As early as the reign of Edward the Second the prior and monks of Birkenhead possessed a right of ferry across the Mersey; and, in that reign they obtained permission to build a hospice or inn for the entertainment of travellers, and to take certain fees for entertaining them, and conveying them across the river. This ancient right of ferry still exists, and is called the Monks' Ferry.

From the isolated position of Liverpool, and that of the towns in the interior of Lancashire, as well as from the want of materials of trade and commerce in early times, it will naturally be concluded that the progress of Liverpool and of South Lancashire in arts and industry was very slow. There is abundant evidence that it was so.

Liverpool received its first charter from King John on the 28th August, in the year 1207; and obtained a second charter from Henry the Third, the son of King John, in the year 1229. These charters gave to the burgesses of Liverpool every commercial privilege which was possessed by the merchants of London, Bristol, Lynn, and the other great ports of the kingdom; but they were long unavailing for the purpose of creating trade and commerce at Liverpool. In the reign of Edward the Third, in the year 1343, an inquiry was made into the value of property in all the boroughs in the kingdom, and amongst others in Liverpool. It shows how slight was the progress made in commerce during the one hundred and thirty years which elapsed between the granting of the first charter by King John, and the date of this inquiry. The following is a copy of the return:—

“BOROUGH OF LIVERPOOL.—The true value of the ninth part of the moveables of the men dwelling in the Borough of Liverpool is £6 16s. 7d., (equal to £103 3s. 9d.) And these are the names of those who have declared the said value—Adam, the son of William, Richard de Walton, Roger de la More, Robert de la More, William Fitz Richard, John Fitz Mariot.”

By means of these returns, we are able to form an estimate of the precise position of the trading interest of Lancashire at that time.

Manchester had then no manufactures, nor any inhabitants engaged in trade whose transactions were large enough to render them liable to pay the tax imposed upon merchandize and moveable property.* Viewed as

* Nonarum Inquisitiones—Lancashire.

an agricultural parish, Manchester was one of the first in the county, the produce of the soil being worth 80 marks, or about £800 a-year of our money; but not even a germ existed at that time of the manufacturing industry which rendered it the most prosperous manufacturing town in Lancashire in the reigns of the Tudors, and which has since placed it at the head of the manufacturing cities of England and the world. The same observation applies to all the other towns in the hundreds of Salford and Blackburn. They are mentioned by name, and a particular account is given of the value of the corn, the wool, and the lambs produced in each township; but it is declared, with regard to all parts of Salford and Blackburn, that they contain no merchants, nor any persons liable to pay the duty on moveable goods.

At this time there were four royal boroughs in Lancashire,—Lancaster, Preston, Liverpool, and Wigan. I have already spoken of Liverpool. The following are the particulars supplied by the same authority—the Nonæ Rolls—with regard to the other three :—

Lancaster, although it gave title to one of the most powerful earls in England, possessed a strong castle, and was the county town, was but an insignificant place in point of population and wealth. The following is the return made with regard to it :—

“BOROUGH OF LANCASTER.—The ninth part of the goods of the burgesses of Lancaster is £6 13s. 6d., (equal to £100 2s. 6d.)—John de Laurence, Thomas de Holland, William Banes, and others.”

Preston, which was also a royal borough, was somewhat a-head of the other royal boroughs in Lancashire, and maintained that position until the time of the Stuarts; still the return of the property of Preston is very humble. It is as follows :—

“BOROUGH OF PRESTON.—The undersigned made inquiry, as to the true value, of the ninth part of the goods of the men, dwelling in the Borough of Preston, and found that the true value was £6 17s 4d., (equal to £103.)—Albert Fitz Robert, John de Wiche, Galfred de Hakeneshou, Nicholas de Preston, William Smyth, and Roger de Bluwath.”

Wigan was, at that time, the only royal borough in the interior. The return with regard to it was as follows :—

“BOROUGH OF WIGAN.—The true value of the ninth part of the moveable goods, of the men dwelling in the Borough of Wigan, is £5 9s. 4d., (equal to £82,) which value the undersigned have presented.—Henry de Fulschagh, Simon Payn, Almeric de Walker, Robert de Mareschall, William le Lycster, and William Fitz Walter.”

It will be seen, from the foregoing returns, that the aggregate amount of trading property in the only four boroughs of Lancashire which acknowledged that they possessed any property of that kind, was about £232 19s. 9d. of the money of that time, or £3,494 16s. 3d. of our present money. At that time the capital of Nottingham, according to the same calculation, was equal to £50,000 of our money; that of Bristol to £30,000. Lancashire was thus immeasurably below the southern and central districts of the kingdom in capital and industry, and so continued to be for many succeeding ages.

Of about forty ports on the sea, which existed in the reigns of the Plantagenet Kings, not above a dozen are now available for the purposes of foreign commerce.* Some have been washed away by the waves. This was the case with Dunwich, which was a great port at the time of the Conquest, though it had even then lost a carucate of land by the encroachments of the sea. It has since been utterly destroyed by the same cause. Ravenspurn, in Yorkshire, and a number of other places situated on chalky cliffs, have been ruined in like manner.

Others have been destroyed by the collecting of the sands. This is the case with Sandwich, Romney, Hythe, and all the Cinque Ports, except Dover; and with many other ports, Chester especially.

Others have sustained no physical change, but have ceased to be used as ports from the increased size of vessels employed in modern navigation: York, Lincoln, and Exeter, are of the number.

It was the misfortune of Chester, as well as of most of the ports founded by the Romans, to be built at too great a distance from the sea. That great people never overcame their fear of the ocean. Nothing struck them with

* The following is a list of the ports of the sea at the time when Liverpool was raised to the rank of a free borough, with an account of the sum paid by each to the tax of fifteenths, in the sixth of King John:—

PORT.	AMOUNT.			EQUAL TO			PORT.	AMOUNT.			EQUAL TO		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
LONDON	836	12	10	12,549	12	6	SEAFORD	12	12	2	189	2	6
BOSTON	788	15	3	11,831	8	9	SHOREHAM ..	20	4	9	303	11	3
SOUTHAMPTON.	712	3	7	10,682	13	9	CHICHESTER ..	23	6	0	349	10	0
LINCOLN	656	12	2	9,848	2	6	EXMOUTH	14	6	6	214	17	6
LYNN	651	11	11	9,773	18	9	DARTMOUTH ..	3	0	6	45	7	6
HULL	344	14	7	5,170	18	9	ESSE	7	4	8	108	10	0
YORK	175	8	10	2,631	12	6	FOWEY	48	15	11	731	18	9
DUNWICH	104	9	0	1,566	15	0	PEVENSEY	16	17	10	253	7	6
GRIMSBY	91	15	1½	1,376	6	10½	COTON	0	11	11	8	18	9
YARMOUTH	54	16	6	822	7	6	WHITBY	0	4	0	3	0	0
IPSWICH	60	8	4	906	5	0	SCARBORO'	22	14	0½	340	10	7½
COLCHESTER ..	16	8	0	246	0	0	SELBY	17	11	8	263	15	0
SANDWICH	16	0	0	240	0	0	BARTON	33	11	2	503	7	6
DOVER	32	6	1	484	11	3	HEDUN	18	15	9½	281	16	10½
RYE	10	13	5½	160	1	10½	NORWICH	6	19	10	104	17	6
WINCHELSEA ..	62	2	4½	931	15	7½	ORFORD	11	7	0	170	5	0

greater awe than the rushing of the tides into the estuaries of Britain. "Nowhere," says Tacitus, "is the wonderful power of the sea to be seen in greater extent than here; driving back the waters of many rivers, or forcibly carrying them away with its own. Neither are its flowings and ebbings confined to the usual limits of the bank and shore, but it works and winds itself far into the land, and even forms bays in rocks and mountains, as if the same were its natural bed." With these feelings of awe it was natural that the Romans should form their ports as high up the rivers as they could do, without losing the advantage of the double power supplied by the advancing and receding tide; and in some instances even higher. This they did at Chester, Gloucester, York, Lincoln, Colchester, Huntingdon, Ribchester, and many other places. Some of these ports never possessed sufficient depth of water for the purposes of modern commerce: others which once possessed it have lost it from the collecting of sand banks.

The port of Chester, which was originally the principal port on the north-west side of the island, has been thus ruined by the collecting of sand at the mouth of the River Dee. At the time when Domesday Book was drawn up, the port of Chester was worth £70 (£1050) a year to the Crown, but soon after that time its value began to decline, owing to the drifting of the sands which were driven into it by the storms of the Atlantic. In the first year of Richard the Second, the rent of the port of Chester, which had previously risen considerably, was reduced from £100 to £73 10s. 8d., "owing to the shallowing of the river Dee." In the fourth of Henry the Sixth, the rent of the same port was again reduced "by reason of the decay of merchandize, and because the port was destroyed by the sand of the sea." In the fourth of Edward the Fourth, the King forgave £80 of the rent of Chester, "because of the charge of the walls, and that the river had become sandy, and merchandize was in decay." In the year 1560, a collection for the new haven at Chester was made in all churches throughout the kingdom. In the ninth of Queen Elizabeth, 1566, the decline of the port still continued, as appears from the following extract of a state paper of that date:—"And forasmuch as we be credibly informed that the said merchants, citizens, and inhabitants of our said city of Chester have, within the space of ten years last past, lost divers notable ships and vessels of the said city, and great quantities of their goods and merchandizes upon the seas, as well by pirates as by divers other misfortunes, and namely at their entries in and going out at the mouth of the haven of the said port, being lately grown and become more dangerous for the coming in and issuing

out of ships than in times past it hath been, by reason whereof the said merchants and their trade in merchandizes there be lately fallen into great decay, and very unable to recover their said losses, or to maintain their said trade, if they should stand charged to the said new imposts, therefore they are exempt," &c. The above are specimens of numerous orders on the same subject, all of which trace the decay of the port of Chester. This decay of the port continued during successive ages, and still continues.

Another cause of the abandonment of Chester and other ancient ports, has been the great increase in the size of the vessels used for the purposes of commerce. We know from history that Cæsar was able to draw on shore, in a few days, the vessels with which he invaded Britain. The vessels with which the Danes and Northmen overran all the coasts of Europe, and in which they crossed the Atlantic, cannot have been of more than twenty or thirty tons each. We have particular accounts of some of the largest of them, and are told that they could convey from 20 to 40 men and a couple of horses.* The five hundred vessels which King John collected in the Irish Sea, in the year 1210, were mere boats. We know that even the herring boats of Yarmouth were considered large enough for warlike purposes, although they were excused on account of the importance of the fishery. When the great Columbus sailed on his ever memorable voyage of discovery, one of the vessels which accompanied him was a carvel of 15 tons burthen. The vessels fitted out at Bristol, and in which Frobisher crossed the Atlantic, were of 15 or 20 tons burthen each; and Sir Hugh Gilbert made his first voyage from Europe to Newfoundland in a vessel of 10 tons, which however was lost on its return.† While vessels of this size were in use a very small depth of water was sufficient to form a port; but in modern times, when we have seen vessels of 1,000, 2,000, and even 3,000 tons employed for the purposes of commerce, and when it is habitually carried on in vessels of 500 or 600 tons, the foreign trade of the country is confined to the ports which possess a much greater depth of water, as London, Bristol, Hull, and Liverpool. Even a greater depth than they supply is required for the vessels of the Royal Navy, and hence Chatham, Sheerness, Portsmouth, Plymouth, and Milford have become the receptacles for the stupendous ships which compose it.

While the port of Chester was thus going to decay from the ruin of

* Snorre's *Heimskringla*, i., 317.

† Sir Charles Lyell's *Second Visit to the United States*, c. 1.

the harbour, Liverpool, which possesses an abundant depth of water for all the purposes of commerce, continued to rise. Liverpool being within two or three miles of the sea, had not to contend with the same difficulties as ports like Chester, situated twenty miles from it. In addition to its proximity to the sea, Liverpool is favoured by the form of the entrance to the river, which is narrow when compared with the higher part of the estuary, and is therefore constantly scoured out by the rushing of the receding tides. The width of the Mersey at its entrance is only one-fourth of the width of the Dee; it is turned northward, and so protected from the direct influx of the Atlantic; and it is further sheltered by the peninsula of Wirral, which rises like a great bulwark between the estuary and the ocean. A similar form of river and land has kept open the port of the Wyre, whilst the Ribble and the Dee, which are open to the full action of the tides and winds, have long since been ruined as ports.

The following extract from "The Coasting Pilot of Great Britain," drawn up by Captain Greenville Collins, in the reign of William and Mary, shows what was the state of the entrance to the river Mersey before any efforts had been made to improve it; and also what was the nature and extent of the accommodation which this port afforded for large ships, previous to the construction of the magnificent line of docks which now form the safest, the most commodious, and the most extensive artificial harbour in the world:—"Being at the back of Hyle sand," says Captain Collins, "bring the mill (Bootle) and wood, one on the other, and run in, keeping close along Hyle sand, and so into Hyle Lake and anchor. Here the great ships that belong to Liverpool put out part of their lading, till they are light enough to sail over the flats into Liverpool. There is a channel near Formby to go into Liverpool, where there is three fathoms at low water on the bar, but this place is not buoyed or beaconed, and so not known. The ships lie aground before the town of Liverpool. It is bad riding afloat before the town, by reason of the strong tides that run here, therefore ships that ride afloat ride up at the Slyne, where is less tide." Such was the natural entrance, and such the amount of accommodation, afforded by the port of Liverpool a hundred and fifty years ago. Since that time the passage near Formby has been buoyed, and a new and much better passage than either of those mentioned by Greenville Collins has been discovered, by means of which vessels three times as large as those which were used for commercial purposes in his time enter the harbour without discharging any portion of their cargo. A succession of brilliant

lights, some afloat, others placed on hills and head-lands, render the approach to the river as safe by night as by day. Once within the Mersey, numerous docks are open to receive vessels, in which they lie as safe as in the smoothest and most land-locked harbour in the world. The history of these docks, and of the rude harbours which preceded them, will be given in a succeeding part of this work.

The above sketch will show the principal causes of the commercial insignificance of Liverpool in ancient times, and will indicate some of the causes of its modern greatness. I now proceed to trace the history of the Lordship, Borough, Port, and Inhabitants of Liverpool from the earliest ages down to that in which we live.

CHAPTER SECOND.

NOTICES OF LIVERPOOL AND THE ADJOINING DISTRICT PREVIOUS TO THE REIGN OF KING JOHN.

A single writer on British Antiquities has claimed for Liverpool an origin as ancient as that of Chester, Manchester, and Lancaster, all of which places have existed from the time of the Roman dominion in Britain, and are mentioned as military stations in the Roman Itineraries. The writer who makes this claim is William Baxter, the author of a learned but fanciful work written in the Latin language, and published at the beginning of the last century, under the title of "*Glossarium Antiquitatum Britannicarum*." In his preface, Baxter makes a boast of having discovered the sites of upwards of two hundred Roman stations, which were not known to Camden or any other English antiquary. Amongst a variety of discoveries, most of them apocryphal, one is that the river Mersey was called the Tyne, or Tinna, (the winding stream,) both by the Britons and Romans. Another is that Warrington was named Veratinum from the fact of its being situated on the said river Tyne, or Tinna. A third is that Liverpool is the true site of a mysterious port, named the Portus Segantiorum, which has been much sought by antiquaries, but never yet found.* All that is really known of that port is, that it is mentioned in the account of Britain given by Ptolemy, the geographer of Alexandria, as one of the ports lying between Morecambe Bay and the river Seteia, which river is supposed to be the Dee, although on very slight evidence. The learned Camden, who was as much at a loss as any of his predecessors or successors as to the position of the Segantian port, hazarded the bold conjecture that no port of that name had ever existed; and suggested that the belief in its existence had arisen from the error of an ignorant transcriber of Ptolemy's work, who, by substituting the Greek name for a port for the Greek name for a lake, had set the learned world to seek at the mouths of the Lancashire

* SEGANTIORUM PORTUS.—In the works of Ptolemy, it is written incorrectly Setantion Limen for Segantion. It is Litherpool, at the mouth of the River Mersey, or Tinna. * * Camden wandered far from the way when he sought the Portus Segantiorum at Dictis, or Winwandermere.—*Baxter*, 217.

rivers for a position which was only to be found on the banks of the beautiful Windermere.* This theory Baxter denounces as a great error, and declares that the father of English topography had entirely lost his way on this subject. By way of setting him right, he asserts very positively that Liverpool, or as he calls it Litherpool, at the mouth of the Mersey, is the true site of the Segantian port. Unfortunately for the antiquarian claims of Liverpool, he forgets to supply the evidence on which his assertion rests; and certainly nothing has been discovered either before or since, in the neighbourhood of Liverpool, which would induce us to believe the assertion without evidence. If the Romans had formed or even occupied a position in the neighbourhood of Liverpool, some traces would have been discovered of the fact, in the course of the innumerable excavations which have been made in this neighbourhood. Chester and Ribchester have each of them proved inexhaustible mines of wealth to our antiquaries; and both Manchester and Warrington have yielded remarkable specimens of the works of the masters of the ancient world. Not even a single Roman coin has been discovered in Liverpool. This might have well occurred if the site had been even temporarily occupied by the Romans: still less have any remains of altars and temples been found, which are rarely absent from positions where they fixed themselves permanently. The most decisive proof, however, that they never established themselves in this neighbourhood, is that which I have mentioned in the previous chapter, I mean the absence of those military roads which are found in other parts of the country, and which never failed to exist in the neighbourhood of every town or station of any importance. As far as we have the means of judging, this part of Lancashire was a solitude in ancient times. It was probably covered with one of those great forests, in the recesses of which the ancient Druids celebrated the rites of a bloody superstition, under the shade of ancient oaks, and in circles of unhewn stones, such as the Calder stones, which still exist within a few miles of Liverpool.

The first people of whom we find any certain traces around the estuary of the Mersey are the Danes or Northmen. These daring adventurers subdued and colonised numerous points on the coasts and islands of the Irish Sea some centuries before the Norman conquest, and they retained possession of the principal island in that sea, the Isle of Man, for two hundred and fifty years after the Norman conquest. We learn from the

* Camden's *Britannia*, 621.

Saxon Chronicle that the river Mersey was the southern boundary of the Danish kingdom of Northumbria, on the western side of the island. Manchester is expressly spoken of as a place situated in the kingdom of Northumbria,* and Cheshire is known to have formed part of the kingdom of Mercia.† The power of the Danes was more firmly established along the coast than it was in the interior. This circumstance is easily accounted for by the rapid communication which the Danish settlers near the sea had with the Danish Chiefs established in the Isle of Man, at Dublin, at Waterford, in the Orkneys, in the Hebrides, as well as with the pirates who roamed along the coasts of Europe from Norway to Spain. Nearly all the names of places on the coast of Lancashire bear marks of a Scandinavian rather than of a Saxon origin. We are told by the most learned writers on Northern Antiquities, that the invaders introduced Danish or Norwegian, in the place of Saxon names, wherever they formed permanent settlements. The author of the History of the Rise of the English Commonwealth, (Sir Francis Palgrave,) speaking of the settlement of the Danes in the north of England, says, "The old Saxon names gave place to Danish appellations. Northworthig became Derby, or Deorby; Stonesalch is the present Whitby. The vessels of Grimsby, if they enter a Danish port, can even now claim the exemption derived from the Danish founder or restorer; and the topography as well as the language of the north and east of England will afford the most convincing proof of the preponderance of the Danish settlers." The names of nearly all the ancient villages around Liverpool, if not that of Liverpool itself, bear evidence to the truth of this observation. The name of the village of West Derby, situate about four miles from Liverpool, from which the hundred of West Derby is named, was no doubt derived from the same enterprising race. It was probably the chief place in the district during the Danish as well as the Saxon dominion. The manor house which stood at West Derby, in the reign of Henry the Third, was built on the site of a still more ancient castle, whose origin is entirely lost in antiquity. It was there before the Norman conquest; and most likely was there at the time when the Danes were driven out of Lancashire, by Athelstane and Edmund, the grandsons of Alfred the Great. The name of Derby is probably derived from the Danish words Dyr, a wild beast, and Bye, a town. The Saxons afterwards called the town of Derby, in Derbyshire,

* Saxon Chronicle, 138.

† Sir Peter Leicester's Antiquities of Cheshire, 92.

Deorby, which is evidently derived from their word Deor, the general name which they gave to all wild animals. The modern English word Deer is the same word slightly altered, and restricted to a single tribe of animals of chase, instead of being applied to all. Up to the time of the Norman conquest, the Lancashire Derby was still a hunting seat of the Saxon Kings. As I have already mentioned, all the Thanes in South Lancashire held their estates on condition of joining the royal hunting parties, with their dependents, for the purpose of driving the game of the district into the haies or enclosures in which it was killed by the royal hunters. Three aeries of hawks existed in the Manor of West Derby, at the time of the Norman conquest, and extensive woods stretched on all sides. All these are traces of the circumstance from which the manor and hundred of West Derby took their name. Another evidence of the settlement of the northern tribes on the banks of the Mersey, is found in the existence of villages on both sides of the Mersey bearing the name of Thingwall—the name which they gave to their courts of justice and places of public assembly. These courts were generally held on the summits of hills commanding extensive views of the surrounding country. “Natural hills, or artificial tumuli, (says Sir Francis Palgrave,) upon whose summit the judges might meet, visible to the surrounding multitude, yet separated from the throng, were also appropriated to popular assemblies. Such was the Mons-placiti or Moot-hill at Scone, the only portion of the Royal demesne retained by Malcolm, when he is said to have bestowed all his lands upon the Barons of his realm; and such still is the Tynwald Hill of Man.” We learn from the Chronicles of the Kings of Man, preserved in Camden’s *Britannia*, that Tingualla, or Thingwall, was the ancient name of the Manx Tynwald.* Thingwall was also the name of a temple or court of justice, built in the Island of Iceland by the Norwegian King Olaf; and it was there that the great assemblies of the people were held every year.† We find the same

* Camden, 738.

+ Snorre Sturlason, the Historian of the Northern Kings, gives the following account of Olaf named Helga or the Holy:—“In the spring Olaf had his fleet prepared, in which he was accustomed, in the summer, to make his voyages through the southern regions,”—(Man was the chief of the Soder-eyes, or Southern Islands)—“holding solemn assemblies, in which he settled questions in dispute and prescribed laws to the people. He also collected tribute”—(Childs, perhaps Childwall, is named from this)—“where it was due. He further pursued his voyage, in the autumn, towards the most distant regions, where he initiated the inhabitants in the mysteries of Christianity, in his extensive territories, and promulgated statutes and laws. Having sent out embassies, he made many friends in Iceland, Greenland, and the Feroe Islands. He also sent the timber needful for building a temple to Iceland, where a temple was afterwards built at a place called Thingwall, (Tingwalla,) where solemn Courts of Justice were held yearly.—*Heimskringla*, part 7.

name in the Shetland Islands, at Lerwick, in which islands the Northmen ruled for many hundred years. Two places, bearing the name, are also found within a few miles of Liverpool, one in Lancashire and the other in Cheshire. The Cheshire Thingwall is mentioned in Domesday Book; and very strong evidence exist that the Lancashire Thingwall was a dependency of West Derby at the time that book was drawn up. Its position is precisely that described by Sir Francis Palgrave,—a beautiful green hill, rising from an extensive plain, and commanding a view of all the surrounding district of South Lancashire. The position of the Cheshire Thingwall also very much corresponds with that assigned to these ancient courts and places of assembly. Numerous other traces of the Danish race are found along the Lancashire coast, and for some miles in the interior. All the small islands on the coast have still the Danish termination of “eye,” or island, as Walneye, Foudreye, and Hilbrie. The promontories are still known by the Danish or Norwegian name of “ness,” or “naze.” The sites of the most ancient churches still bear the Danish name of “Kirk,” as Kirkham, Kirby, Kirkdale, Ormskirk. Numbers of the oldest villages retain the Northern termination of “by;” as Roby, Derby, Crosby, Formby, Kirby, Frankby, Thirlby, and others. In some parts of the district we still recognise the names of the chiefs who figure in the wars of the ancient Sea Kings. Thus, in Amounderness, formerly written Agmunderness, we find the name of Agmund, the governor, who is mentioned in the Saxon chronicle;* in Ormskirk, that of Earl Orme, whose descendants remained in Lancashire after the Norman Conquest; and in Garston, that of Earl Gaer, another celebrated warrior. The old northern names of Syward, Arnold, Ulf, and others, remained in use in Lancashire long after the Norman Conquest; and the female name of Quinilda was so popular two hundred years after the Norman Conquest, that we find three females bearing it, in the account of South Lancashire given in Testa de Neville. As the old Northern language is now spoken no where except in the Island of Iceland, it is difficult to trace the origin of many words derived from it. I suspect that this is the cause of the difficulty which has been found in discovering the meaning of the first part of the name of Liverpool.

The latter part of the name of Liverpool is evidently derived from the pool which washed its shores. Some doubt, however, exists as to whether the pool from which the name was taken was the narrow creek which

* Saxon Chronicle, 129.

encircled the ancient town, or a part of the wider expanse of the Mersey, extending from Litherland or Crosby to above the present town. We find the term pool applied both to narrow creeks and to open expanses of water. In the latter sense, it is applied to that portion of the river Dee called Dawpool; to the reach of the river Thames, lying below London Bridge, which forms the harbour of London; to the large bay from which the town of Poole, in Dorsetshire, is named; to Wampool, on the coast of Cumberland; and to Hartlepool, on the coast of Durham. We also find the upper expanse of the Mersey, between Runcorn and Warrington, called the Fresh Pool in a deed of the reign of Edward the Fourth—a designation which seems to have been given to it to distinguish it from some pool lower down. Holinshead, who wrote in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, speaking of the river Mersey, says: “finally, our Mersie, going by Moulton, it falleth into Lirpool, or, as it was called of old, Liverpool Haven, when it is past Runcorn.” As early as the reign of Edward the First, the burgesses of Liverpool claimed and succeeded in establishing their claim to the river as far down as Crosby or Litherland.*

Most of the attempts hitherto made to explain the meaning of the first part of the word Liverpool have been very unsuccessful. I shall not add to the number of conjectures, but point out the one which appears to me to be most probable amongst those already made. A difficulty arises from the fact, that it is scarcely possible to tell whether the original name of the township was Liverpool, Litherpool, or Lithepool, or whether the name was spelt all those ways indifferently. When Camden visited Liverpool in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, he found the name written and pronounced Litherpoole; but he says that the original name, in the time of the Saxons, was Liferpole.† That would have been, as nearly as possible, the present name, for the Saxons used the letter *f* where we use the *v*. But there is not the slightest evidence as to the manner in which the name of Liverpool was written at that time. The most ancient deed now in existence in which the name occurs, is one of the reign of Richard the First, about the year 1190, and will be found quoted in a succeeding page. In that the word is written Liverpol, modernized into Liverpool, which confirms, in some degree, the spelling of Camden. The same mode of spelling (or contractions which are equivalent to it,) occur in King John’s charter to the town of Liverpool, granted in the year 1207; in the second charter granted by Henry the Third, in the year

* Pleas of the Crown, 20th Edward First.

† Camden’s Britannia, 615.

1229 ; and in most of the deeds of that age. There are exceptions, however. The most remarkable of these is found in that ancient and curious record of the royal rights, entitled *Testa de Neville*, in which the word is written *Litherpol*.* That part of *Testa de Neville* which relates to Lancashire must have been drawn up in the reign of King John, for we find mention made in it of "the Earl of Morton, who now is king," which description can apply to no other than King John. The name is written *Lithepole* in one of the Sheriff's accounts, in the reign of Edward I., the grandson of King John. These modes of spelling are, therefore, of nearly equal antiquity, so far as we have the means of judging from original documents. I am inclined to think that the *Lider* and *Liter* of *Domesday Book* ;† the *Liver* of the reign of Richard the First, the *Lither* of *Testa de Neville*, and the *Lithe* of the Sheriff's accounts, are all originally the same word, and that they are derived, as has been suggested, from the old Gothic word *Lide* or *Lithe*, the Sea, or from some of the words formed from it, as *Lid* and *Liter*, a ship ; *Lithe*, a fleet of ships ; *Lithesman*, a seaman. We find this word as a part of several names around the coast, as in *Lytham*, at the mouth of the *Ribble* ; *Litherland* and *Liverpool*, at the mouth of the *Mersey* ; *Lidford*, in *Devonshire* ; *Lithermore*, or *Livermore*, in *Suffolk*, and probably *Leith*, in the estuary of the *Forth*. The old Scandinavian name *Forth* has entirely superseded the classical name *Bodotria*, in the *Frith of Forth* ; and it has been clearly shown, by Dr. Jamieson, Sir Francis Palgrave, and other writers, that Scandinavian names, as well as Scandinavian words, abound in the north of England and in Scotland. It is at least a curious coincidence, that the *River Liffey*, which flows into the *Bay of Dublin*, is called the *River Lith*, in six or seven official documents published in the reign of King John.

The earliest mention of the *River Mersey* by its modern name is contained in a deed of the reign of the Saxon King *Ethelred*, executed in the year 1004, that is about sixty years before the *Norman Conquest*. The earlier history of that river is very obscure. *Baxter* is the only writer who professes to tell us its ancient name ; and his assertion that the name was the *Tinna*, or *Tyne*, which he says means the *Winding Stream*, is a mere assertion. *Stretford*, or "the ford of the street" or road, and *Warrington*, were the two points at which the *Mersey* was crossed by the *Roman Roads*. There is no doubt that the *Mersey* was the boundary

* *Testa de Neville*, 371.

† Used in what we call *Litherland*.

between the kingdoms of Northumbria and Mercia, both in the Saxon and the Danish times. Some writers have even thought that the latter kingdom was named from that circumstance; but most persons will agree in the opinion of Sir Peter Leycester, the historian of Cheshire, that the river is more likely to have been named from the kingdom which it bounded, than the kingdom (which extended over seventeen counties) to have been named from so small a stream. "It was called Mercia (says Sir Peter Leycester) not from the river Mersey running from the corner of Wirhallia, in Cheshire, because that was the utmost limit thereof westward, but I rather believe that river took its denomination from the kingdom which it bounded on that side."* I am the more disposed to concur in this opinion from the fact that the river Mersey is not the main stream, in the upper part of its course. The Irwell, which flows into it from the north, is the larger river; but the smaller stream, which formed the boundary, still bears the name of Mersey from the point where it leaves the hills to the sea.

The first mention of the country between the Mersey and the Ribble—*Inter Ripam et Mersam*—is contained in the will of Wulfric Spott, Earl of Mercia, made in the year 1004. In that deed that powerful nobleman bequeathed the district between those two rivers to his heirs, Elfhelme and Wulfage, subject to a payment, by each of them, of three thousand sceattas, (a small coin then current in this part of the country,) to the monastery of Burton-on-Trent, of which he was the founder. This deed is the earliest document in which the rivers Ribble and Mersey are mentioned by their modern names, or from which we obtain any information, as to the ownership of property between them.†

Wulfric Spott, the testator in the above will, was killed in a great battle, fought with an invading army of the Danes, at Ipswich, in the year 1010. This was the commencement of a series of disastrous conflicts, which ended in the conquest of the kingdom by the Danes, under their brave and able kings, Sweyne, and his son, Canute. Amongst other results of that struggle was the ruin of the Earls of Mercia, who were the most powerful subjects of the crown. Although they recovered a large portion of their estates, when the Saxon line of kings was restored, they never regained the country between the Mersey and the Ribble. That passed

* Sir Peter Leycester's *Antiquities of Cheshire*, 92.

† Dugdale's *Monasticon*, iii., 2. See also note on Dugdale's *Translation of Wulfric Spott's Will*, in *Proofs and Illustrations of Sir Francis Palgrave's Rise of the English Commonwealth*, 292.

into the hands of Edward the Confessor, the last Saxon king of the race of Alfred.

We are told that King Edward held the whole, in the introduction to the account of the six Hundreds of West Derby, Warrington, Newton, Salford, Blackburn, and Leyland, given in the Domesday survey. It thus appears that all the country between the Ribble and the Mersey was Royal Demesne, previous to the Norman Conquest.

At the death of Edward the Confessor, the greater part of the manors about Liverpool were held by Thanes of the second or third class, who paid the king a nominal rent of two oras or ounces of silver, for each carucate of arable land, and a fine of 40s., (equal to about £30 of our money,) on the accession of each new tenant. These Thanes were also obliged to help in building the King's houses, and to send all their servants to assist in cutting the king's corn for one day in the month of August. The only man of much wealth in this part of the country at that time, was a Thane named Uctred, who held Knowsley and fifteen other manors, including Kirkdale, which now forms part of the town of Liverpool. This Uctred is believed to have been the son of the Uctred who is mentioned in the history of the wars of King Canute, given in the Saxon Chronicle. The other manors were in the possession of Thanes of a smaller class, each of whom had his rude mansion or manor house, where he resided in the midst of his dependents, whom he governed after the manner of his Saxon ancestors. The quantity of arable land—terra—attached to these manor houses was very small; in some instances not more than twenty acres, and in few more than from a hundred to a hundred and fifty acres. At that time, however, the population was rather pastoral than agricultural in its habits. The chief wealth of the landed proprietors consisted in the herds of cattle and swine which subsisted on the wastes and in the forests which surrounded the small clearings in which their mansions were built.

The only part of South Lancashire in which we have any information as to the numbers and occupations of a lower class of people than the Thanes, or gentlemen, at the close of the Saxon dynasty, is in the manor of West Derby, near Liverpool, and the berewicks or subordinate manors attached to it. This manor and these berewicks were then held by the Crown, and were cultivated and inhabited by fifty-three villeins, sixty-two bordarii, three ploughmen, six herdsman, a radman or horseman, two bondmen, and three bondwomen. If these hundred and thirty persons were heads of families, this would give a population of

between six and seven hundred inhabitants in West Derby, and the six berewicks attached to that manor. These are supposed to have been Liverpool, Everton, Garston, Thingwall, Great Crosby, and perhaps a portion of Wavertree. This is quite as large a population as is likely to have existed in those days in West Derby and its dependencies, when the whole kingdom is computed to have contained a population of not more than a million and a half of inhabitants. The smallness of the number of inhabitants in the neighbourhood of Liverpool proves that no town of any consequence existed there at that time. This is equally proved by the occupations of the people. The villeins were the farmers or cultivators of the district. The bordarii were the cottagers, that is, the day labourers employed in husbandry; and perhaps the fishermen and ferrymen of the Mersey. Such was the population of this district at the earliest period at which we obtain any insight into its condition.

In addition to the manors let to Saxon Thanes, it appears from Domesday Book that King Edward the Confessor held in his own hand, up to the time of his death, the royal manor of West Derby, and six berewicks, or subordinate manors, dependent upon it. The names of these six berewicks are not given; but we naturally look for them amongst those of the manors or townships adjoining West Derby, which are known to have existed, and to have been connected with it, from ancient times. The manors which best answer these conditions are Liverpool, Everton, and Thingwall, which adjoined West Derby; Garston and Great Crosby, which lie within a moderate distance of it; and a portion of the present township of Wavertree, lying between West Derby and Garston. No account is given in Domesday Book of the value of the lands in Everton, although the name is mentioned. The names of Liverpool, Garston, Thingwall, and one of the Crosbys are not even mentioned, though there is evidence that they all existed very soon after that survey was made. To have omitted these manors, or any others, would have been to defeat one principal object for which the survey was made, which was the raising of a land tax of six shillings (£4 10s.) a hide, on all the arable land of the kingdom, to resist an invasion of the kingdom, which was threatened by Canute King of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, one of the successors of the Danish conqueror Canute. There can be no doubt that all the manors in this neighbourhood, without exception, are included in the Domesday Survey; and that those which are not mentioned by name, are comprised under the general head of the six berewicks of West Derby.

It will be seen in a subsequent chapter of this work, that the manors of Liverpool, Everton, Thingwall, and Crosby, as well as the greater part of the lands within those manors, belonged to the successive lords of the manor of West Derby for three or four hundred years, and that the connection of some of those manors with each other was not severed until they were sold by Charles the First to the merchants of London, in the year 1629. In 1617, the West Derby men, with Sir Richard Molyneux at their head, attempted to seize on part of the waste lands of Liverpool, in right of this ancient superiority; but as the Lordship of West Derby did not belong to them, but to the Crown, they clearly had no claim. As we shall see afterwards, the Mayor, Bailiffs, and Town Council of Liverpool met and repulsed them, either by moral or physical force—it does not very clearly appear which. Indeed it ought to be said in justice to the Corporation that they defended their claim to the wastes of the manor, when they produced only 7s. 5d. a year, as resolutely as if they had foreseen that the time would come when they would be worth £100,000 a year.

We find in Domesday Book descriptions of two different states of society. The former is that which existed at the death of Edward the Confessor, or, as it is expressed in the Exon Domesday, on the day in which that king was living and dead. The second is that which prevailed twenty years after the battle of Hastings, when the Saxon Thanes had been driven from their estates to make way for Norman knights and gentlemen, and when the feudal system, of which only imperfect traces existed amongst the Saxons, had been established in all its rigour. This system was military in its origin; it was directed to military purposes; and whatever were its disadvantages in other respects, it was effectual as a means of repelling attack from abroad. In the two hundred years which preceded its introduction, the kingdom was invaded and wasted fifty times. After its introduction, no invader entered the English territory for three centuries without being signally defeated; and no one ever since succeeded in gaining any permanent advantage. Military organization was the forte of the Normans; want of it the weakness of the Saxons. According to the feudal system, the king was looked upon as the head of the armed force of the nation, which force consisted of the whole population, drawn out by conscription, as required. All the land of the kingdom was considered to belong to the king, to be held for public purposes, and was granted to the great tenants of the Crown, who re-granted it to knights and gentlemen, on condition of military service.

The king, as I have said, was looked upon as the Commander-in-Chief; and the extraordinary military talents of the kings of the Norman and Plantagenet lines did much to establish the military reputation of the English race. Next to the king came the Earls and Barons, who held their great estates on condition of bringing a certain number of knights and retainers into the field. Their earldoms and baronies varied in extent, partly with the fertility and wealth of the districts in which they were situated, partly with the military necessities of those districts. In some of the southern counties where the land was rich, where cultivation was comparatively good, and where there was no danger of foreign attack, a single county was divided among forty or fifty tenants, holding directly from the Crown, including generally an earl, a baron, and numerous knights. In the northern districts of the kingdom, and along the frontiers of Wales and Scotland, where the land was comparatively uncultivated, and where the danger of attack was urgent, the earldoms and baronies comprised immense districts of land. Thus, the earldom of Shrewsbury included the greater part of Shropshire. That of Chester included the whole of Cheshire, with the exception of the lands belonging to the bishop. And that of Roger of Poictou included the whole of the present county of Lancaster, without any exception, and very extensive districts in other counties. These earldoms were sub-divided by the respective earls amongst the knights and gentlemen who had followed them to battle, and on whom they relied to defend them in their newly-acquired possessions.

At the time when the Domesday Survey was made, the lands in the manor of West Derby, and in the subordinate manors or berewicks of Liverpool, Everton, Garston, Crosby, Thingwall, and Wavertree, were in the hands of eight Norman knights, to whom they had been presented by Roger of Poictou. The names of these knights were Goisfred, Roger, William, Warin, a second Goisfred, Tetbald, Robert, and Gislebert. The only circumstance which has come down to us respecting any of these knights is, that one of the two Goisfreds was Vice Comes or Sheriff of the Honour of Lancaster, in the reign of William Rufus. He is so described in a grant to the monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul, at Shrewsbury, in which he settled the manor of Garston on that Abbey. It is impossible to trace the history of the other knights settled in this neighbourhood. This difficulty arises chiefly from the absence of surnames, which renders it impossible to distinguish them from innumerable Goisfreds, Roberts, Rogers, Williams, and Warins settled in Lancashire and in other parts

of the kingdom. Almost the only Norman families settled in the county who brought surnames with them, and retained them, were the Molyneuxes of Sefton; the Butlers of Warrington; the Gresleys, who were originally settled in Leyland, but afterwards became Barons of Manchester; the Boiseuils of Preston and Penwortham; the De Lacys of Halton and Clitheroe; the Banistres of Newton; the Gerards of Leyland; the Fitz Henrys, who afterwards took the name of Lathom, and who are now represented by the Stanley family; and the De la Meres, from whom the De la Mores of Liverpool were probably descended. The spelling of surnames, even when they did exist, was so arbitrary in that age, as to add to the difficulty of recognizing ancient families. Thus we have Molyneux written Molineus, and De Meulas, and latinized into Molendino. We have Butler translated into Pincerna, and De la Mere translated into Del Mor, De Mora, and De la More. Still further difficulty is produced by the practice which then existed of changing surnames with a change of property or occupation. Thus the following names all belong to different members of a single ancient family, some of whom possessed the manor of Liverpool in early times:—Ivo de Taillebois, Gilbert de Furnesis, Warine de Lancaster, Henry Fitz Warine, Henry Falconarius, and Henry de Lee. Amidst this chaos of names it is not possible to trace the descent of more than a few families. There is little doubt, however, that the Waltons of Walton, who were the original stewards of the Hundred of West Derby, and the first governors of the Castle of Liverpool, were descended from one of the knights who came over with Roger of Poictou; and there is no doubt that the Molyneuxes, who held those offices from the reign of Henry the Sixth, were of equally ancient origin.

When William the Conqueror divided the lands of England, amongst the chiefs of his army, after the battle of Hastings, he conferred especial marks of favour on the great family of Montgomery. Earl Roger de Montgomery, the head of it, he raised to the rank of Earl of Arundel, Chichester, and Shrewsbury; giving to him the strong castle of Arundel, with a large portion of the county of Sussex, together with the castle of Bridgenorth, and nearly the whole of the county of Shropshire. This powerful Earl afterwards built the castle of Montgomery, in Wales, which has since given name to the county of Montgomery. At his death, his eldest son, Robert, and his second son, Hugh, divided the immense possessions of the family between them. Hugh, the second son, obtained the English earldoms, whilst Robert, the eldest, obtained the Norman

estates, both of the family of Montgomery, and of the still wealthier house of Belesme, in right of his mother, Mabile, the heiress of that great Norman house. The Montgomerys are said to have possessed thirty castles in Normandy, France, England, and Wales. On the death of Hugh, the second Earl of Shrewsbury, who was killed in a skirmish with a body of Norwegian pirates, in the Island of Anglesea, in the year 1098, Robert, the eldest son, succeeded to the English earldoms, and thus united in himself all the possessions of the elder branch. These he held until the time of the ruin and banishment of the whole family, on the accession of Henry the First.

The younger sons were as liberally provided for by the Conqueror, as the head of the house.

Earl Arnulf, the fourth son, received all the lands which he could conquer, in that beautiful district of South Wales, now called Pembroke-shire, where he is said to have founded the castle of Pembroke.*

Earl Roger of Poictou, the third son, received even more extensive territories than the other members of the family. These included the whole of Lancashire, from the river Mersey to the hills of Westmorland, together with large estates in the West Riding of Yorkshire, and in the counties of Derby, Nottingham, and Lincoln. During the life of Roger of Poictou, and for many years after his death, these great possessions were known by the name of the Honour or Earldom of Roger Pictavensis. They afterwards formed the Honour and Earldom of Lancaster, and were part of the Duchy of Lancaster, a great historical dignity, which continues to the present day.

The wealth and power heaped on the family of Montgomery proved its ruin. In the interval between the battle of Hastings, which was fought in the year 1066, and the completing of the Domesday survey, which was finished in the year 1086, Roger of Poictou had forfeited his estates in England, by conspiring with other Norman chiefs to dethrone the Conqueror. He had been compelled to fly from the kingdom, to escape his terrible fury, and was an exile when the Domesday survey was made. At that time the whole of his Honour or Earldom was in the hands of the king. After the death of William the Conqueror, Roger of Poictou succeeded in regaining his English estates, by joining William Rufus, against his elder brother, Robert Duke of Normandy. The estates thus recovered he held during the whole of the reign of William Rufus. This is proved, not only by contemporary historians, but by

* Camden's Britannia, 523.

the deeds of the priory of Lancaster, and of the monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul, at Shrewsbury. It appears from a deed, preserved in Dugdale's *Monasticon*,* that Roger of Poitou made extensive grants to the monastery of St. Martin-de-Sees, in Normandy, (of which the priory of Lancaster was a cell or dependency), in the year 1094. Amongst his gifts to that monastery were the tithes of Walton, which then included the present parish of Liverpool; the tithes of West Derby, Everton, Hale, and Salford; the church, tithes, and fishery of Preston, with the church and town of Hessam; and many other gifts. To administer this extensive property, the superiors of the monastery of St. Martin-de-Sees established a subordinate monastery at Lancaster, under the title of the Priory of St. Mary of Lancaster. This priory continued to manage the estates of the Norman establishment, until the property of the alien priories was seized by the crown.

The priory of St. Martin de Sees was not the only one to which Roger of Poitou was liberal, at the expense of the people of Lancashire. He also added to his father's endowment of the monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul, at Shrewsbury, the following gifts:—The fisheries of Thelwall on the river Mersey, and of Osciton and Poulton on the river Wyre. In return for these gifts, he stipulated that a mass should be said daily for himself, his wife, his son, his father, and his mother.† At the same time, Goisfridus, or Goisfred, his vice-comes, and one of the knights whom he had settled in the manor of West Derby, added the church of Walton and the town or township of Gerston, or Garston, to the endowment. He, it appears, had a son, named Achard, in the monastery. The presentation of the church of Walton remained in the gift of the monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul, at Shrewsbury, until the reign of Edward the Fourth, when it was sold to the Molyneuxes, of Sefton. I shall have to refer to the history of Walton Church, which is the most ancient place of religious worship in this part of the country, and which was long the parish church of Liverpool, at a later period of this history.

At the death of William Rufus, the family of Montgomery was in the height of its glory. The three sons of Roger de Montgomery held the estates belonging to five earldoms; and the Earl of Morton, who had married Matilda the youngest daughter of Roger, possessed upwards of seven hundred manors, including the greater part of Devonshire and Cornwall, and was the wealthiest and most powerful subject in the kingdom. This

* Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vi., 997.

† Dugdale's *Monasticon*, iii., 521.

great accumulation of wealth and power caused their ruin. A civil war sprang up, on the accidental death of William Rufus, between Henry the First, his youngest brother, and Robert, Duke of Normandy. The Montgomerys thought themselves powerful enough to turn the scale in favour of the Duke of Normandy. They risked everything in the attempt, and failed. Henry, who was more popular with the English people, than either of his predecessors, on account of his English birth, and his marriage with a princess descended from the great Alfred, called on his English subjects to join him against his enemies and theirs. This call was eagerly responded to, by an army of 20,000 English infantry, and a considerable number of Norman peers and knights. The castle of Arundel was taken, after an obstinate siege. The king afterwards captured the still stronger castle of Bridgenorth. The final struggle between the king and these great Norman lords, took place on the banks of the Severn, between Bridgenorth and Shrewsbury. It ended in the total overthrow of the Montgomerys and of their allies. The castle of Shrewsbury, built by the first Earl, on the ruins of the houses of upwards of fifty of the burgesses of that town, was wrested from his sons. They fled to Normandy, leaving their estates in the hands of the king. From this time, their connection with England ceases. According to the testimony of contemporary writers, they were remarkable, even in that age of violence, for their pride, insolence, rapacity, and cruelty to the poor; and their fate was according to their merits. Mabile, the mother of the four earls, and heiress of the Belesmes, was murdered in her bed, by two Norman knights, whose estates she had seized. Hugh, the second son, was killed in an obscure skirmish in the Isle of Anglesey. Robert, the eldest son, was taken prisoner in Normandy, and died a prisoner; and his two brothers,—Arnulf and Roger Pictavensis,—lost their estates in Normandy, as well as those in England, and died in obscurity.*

According to Camden, the castle of Liverpool was built by Roger of Poictou. There is no evidence in support of this assertion. The probability is, that the castle occupied (but not built) by Roger of Poictou, was that of West Derby, situate about four miles to the east of Liverpool. As I have already mentioned, the castle of West Derby was of very great antiquity, and a manor house, also very ancient, was built on its ruins. So late as the year 1790 remains of this manor house

* History of Shrewsbury, i., 59. This account of the Montgomerys is condensed from the works of Ordericus, generally, but not correctly, called Ordericus Vitalis, who was born near Shrewsbury, and spent his life in the Norman Monastery of Sees. He was a contemporary of the Montgomerys.

still existed near Croxteth Hall, in a mound from twenty to thirty feet high, surrounded by traces of a moat.*

The public records of the reign of William Rufus are totally lost. We are, therefore, unable to add anything to the accounts derived from the deeds of the priory at Lancaster, those of the abbey at Shrewsbury, and the works of Ordericus.

After the ruin and the flight of the Montgomerys, the honour of Lancaster, and the great earldom of Mortaigne or Morton, passed by forfeiture into the hands of Henry the First. They were granted by him to his cousin, Stephen de Blois, who was the son of Eustace, Earl of Blois and Chartres, and of Adela, the youngest daughter of William the Conqueror. Earl Stephen of Bologne and Morton, was the founder of the beautiful abbey of Furness, in this county.† The only one of the national records of the reign of Henry the First which has been preserved is the sheriff's account, or Great Roll of the Pipe, of the year 1130, the thirty-first of Henry the First. In this roll, what we now call south Lancashire, is still spoken of as the country *Inter Ripam et Mersam*; and the landholders are spoken of, as the men of the Earl of Morton—*Homines Comitum Maritonie*.

On the death of Henry the First, Earl Stephen claimed the crown of England, in opposition to Matilda, the daughter and only surviving child of the King. Matilda, who is generally known as the Empress Matilda, married Henry the Fifth, Emperor of Germany, as her first husband, and afterwards Geoffrey Plantagenet, Count of Anjou. From this marriage sprang the royal race of Plantagenet, which governed England for so many ages. The claim of Stephen gave rise to a desperate civil

* In the manuscripts of my friend Mr. Thomas Moore, of Liverpool (to whom I am under the greatest obligations, for his kindness in placing his large and valuable collection at my disposal), I find the following observation on the site of this ancient castle:—"In the writer's time (1790), there was a mound in what is called the Castle Field, situate between the hall of Croxteth Park and Derby Castle, in what was called the Castle Field, perhaps twenty or thirty feet high, surrounded by a moat nearly filled up. The mound was sold for building. Sand, and no stone-work, remained, the latter having been carried off. A portion of the old timber was made into a cabinet or writing desk, as appears by the following extract from Robert Syers's History of Everton, page 71:—"The site of the ancient Castle at West Derby was named at the Inquisition held at Lancaster in the First of Edward the Third, A. D. 1327, and also in the Domesday Book. [It is rather referred to than named in Domesday.] Timber and hewn stone have recently been dug out of its crumbled ruins. Mr. M'George, of Everton, has a handsome writing desk constructed of a piece of oak which was dug out of these ruins. On a brass plate of that writing desk, the following sentence is inscribed:—"This desk was made from part of an oak beam that was dug out of the ruins of Edward the Confessor's Castle, at West Derby, Lancashire, supposed to have been built anno Domini 1050, executed under the direction of John M'George, 1827." I may add, that there is no evidence that the Castle of West Derby was built in the year 1050. The probability is that it existed long before that period.

† West's Antiquities of Furness, 21.

war, which raged for fifteen years. Although the idea of a female's succeeding to the crown in her own right was altogether new, both to the Normans and the English, yet the claim of the daughter of the last Norman king was at least as good as a claim derived from the daughter of a preceding king,—which was all that Stephen could advance. The nation and the great nobles divided into two parties, one favourable to the Empress Matilda, the other to King Stephen. In order to strengthen his own party, Stephen made extensive grants of estates to the chief noblemen of the kingdom. Amongst other grants, he presented the Earl of Chester, who was at that time one of the most powerful of those nobles, with all his estates between the Ribble and the Mersey* ; but neither this grant, nor other marks of the royal favour, had the effect of securing to King Stephen the support of the Earl of Chester for any length of time. On the contrary, he was soon found fighting in the ranks of the king's enemies, and assisted to defeat and capture Stephen, at Lincoln, in the year 1141. In the hope of fixing the allegiance to the other side, Henry Plantagenet, Duke of Normandy, and son of the Empress Matilda, confirmed to him the lands between the Ribble and the Mersey.† This confirmation, however, was as unavailing as the previous grant by King Stephen to fix the faith of the Earl of Chester. In a short time he was in arms against the Plantagenets ; and forfeited all that had been confirmed to him by the Duke of Normandy. The final result of the struggle between Stephen and the Plantagenets was this. It was arranged that Stephen should retain the crown for his own life, but that at his death he should be succeeded by Henry, the son of Matilda. This established the principle of the right of females and their descendants to inherit the throne of England. It was further stipulated that William de Blois, the son of King Stephen, should succeed to the private estates which had belonged to his father, before he seized upon the crown. Amongst these, as I have already stated, were the Earldom of Morton and the Honour of Lancaster.

There was formerly a belief that Henry the First had granted a charter to the borough of Liverpool ; but there is no such charter in existence, nor any evidence that it ever existed. The belief in its existence arose from an entry made in the corporation records in the year 1581. With reference to this entry, Mr. Henry Brown, who was formerly town-clerk of Liverpool, writing to Mr. Hargreaves, who was at that time recorder, says of this reputed charter, or rather charters, “I would observe that in

* Roll of Grants in the Duchy Office, made in the reign of Richard the Second.

† Rymer's *Fœdera*, 1, part i., 16.

our council or corporation books, in the year 1581, mention is made of two charters of Henry the First; but not a word is said of the purport of these charters." Pretended charters of this reign, and of the reign of Henry the Second, were produced a good many years ago, by a person who offered to sell them to the corporation; but they are, evidently, forgeries. They were not shown at the municipal inquiry in 1833, when all the real charters of the town were produced, nor are they deserving of any further notice.* The shorter charters of that age so much resemble each other, that any one who has studied one of them might write a dozen.

On the death of King Stephen, which took place in the year 1154, his son William de Blois became possessed of these estates, and held them for twelve years. This William de Blois, who was Earl of Bologne, Warrene, and Surrey, was a liberal benefactor of the abbey of Furness, which his father had founded during the reign of Henry the First. The only fact in his history, connected with the neighbourhood of Liverpool, of which we have any record, is that he presented or confirmed the ancient family of the Waltons, of Walton, in the stewardship of the hundreds of West Derby and Salford, which they held for many generations, and which the Molyneuxes of Sefton have held for as many more.†

In the twelfth year of the reign of Henry the Second, William de Blois died, childless, when the Earldom of Morton and the Honour of Lancaster passed into the hands of the king. About this time we begin to obtain accounts of Liverpool from the national records, and other authentic sources.

From the twelfth year of Henry the Second, the Sheriff or Vice Comes of Lancashire renders accounts of the royal estates in Lancashire, more or less detailed. The returns for the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth years of Henry the Second are made by William de Vesci, who was sheriff during those years; those of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth, by Roger de Herberga; that of the twenty-second by Ranulf de Glanville, the celebrated justiciary of England; those from the twenty-second to the thirty-first by Ranulf Fitz-Bernard; and those for the remainder of the reign by Gilbert Pipard ‡ There is no mention of Liverpool in any of the Pipe Rolls of this reign; but that may arise from the fact, that the manor of Liverpool was given by the king to Warine de Lancaster, along with four other manors, a few years after he obtained possession of it. It is probable,

* Municipal Inquiry, Appendix, 1.

† Charter Rolls, 1st John.

‡ Pipe Rolls of those years, in Roger Dodsworth's Collection in the Bodleian Library.

however, that the blank in the following return, of the sums paid by the king's manors, to a tallage or tax, levied in the year 1177,* ought to be filled up with the name of Liverpool :—

“ West Derby, 34s. 8d. ; Hale, 2 marks ; Formby, 36s. 8d. ; Crosby, 36s. 8d. ; Wavertree, 1 mark ; Walton, $2\frac{1}{2}$ marks ; Litherland, 1 mark ;
* * * * [thus in the original], 3 marks.”

The principal reason for believing that the blank in the above return relates to Liverpool, is that Litherland and Liverpool were both given away by the king, at the same time, and to the same person. It is only a fair inference, therefore, that Liverpool as well as Litherland was in the hands of the king in the year 1177. If so, it would be equally liable to be tallaged with the surrounding townships and manors, and would, therefore, appear in the list.

During the time when the Honour of Lancaster was in the hands of Henry the Second the forest laws were executed with great severity. Amongst the delinquents who were fined for offences against those laws, we find a number of names which we should have scarcely expected in such a list. At the head of them is the archdeacon of Chester, who is fined 100s., equal to £75 of our money.† Then follows Humphrey the priest, the brother of Albert Boiseul, Lord of Penwortham, and owner of the manor of Bootle, in this neighbourhood. After him come Stephen, parson of Walton ; Ralf the parson, and Adam the priest, of Prescott ; Robert, priest of Childwall ; Adam, priest of Meols ; and Jordan, dean of Manchester. It does not follow, however, that these reverend gentlemen had really chased the king's deer—though it is likely enough that they had. It was very difficult for persons who lived in the royal forests to avoid offences against the forest laws. Thus, we find that John de Spellowe, who resided at Walton, in this neighbourhood, was fined for breaking down the young shrubs—the vert—which sheltered the deer ; and in the Forest Charter, agreed upon by the barons during the minority of Henry the Third, a variety of harmless acts are rendered legal, from which we may conclude that they had been previously illegal. Amongst them was the digging of a ditch, on a man's own land, within the limits of the forest ; the sinking of a marl pit ; the driving of swine through the forest ; and the gathering of wild honey, which was, at that time, an article of great value, being used for the purposes for which we now use sugar, and also for manufacturing mead and brewing ale. The lawing of dogs

* Pipe Roll, 22nd Henry Second.

† Pipe Roll, 21st Henry Second.

was still enforced,—that is, the cutting off the claws and the middle joint of the fore feet. The penalties still retained for these offences were very severe, consisting of imprisonment, grievous fines, and banishment; but it was declared that henceforward no man should be punished in life or limb, for offences against the forest laws. At this time, Liverpool was within the forest of West Derby. It afterwards had a forester, whose duty it was to account for all the deer killed, and all the timber taken from the forest. The oppression produced by these laws filled the great forest of Sherwood, and the wilder parts of the country, with bands of outlaws from amongst the lower classes of the people, and did much to drive the barons of the kingdom, and the clergy, into armed resistance against the crown, in the reign of King John.

The most ancient document now in existence in which Liverpool is mentioned by name, is a deed executed in the reign of Richard the First by John Earl of Morton, afterwards King John, who was then Lord of the Honour of Lancaster, in which he confirms Henry Fitz Warine in the possession of Liverpool, and of four other manors which had been granted to Warine de Lancaster, the father of Henry Fitz Warine, by Henry the Second. The following is a translation of the deed:—"Know that we have granted, and by this our deed confirmed, to Henry, the son of Warine de Lancaster, the lands which King Henry, our father, gave to Warine, his father, that is, Ravenmeols, Anmolesdale, (Ainsdale,) Up Liturland, LIVERPOOL, and French Le, (or Lea,) and eight denarii (or pence) in the borough of Preston."

There is no date to the above deed of confirmation, nor is any information to be obtained as to the year in which the original grant was made to Warine de Lancaster. The confirmation must, however, have taken place between the years 1189 and 1195; for in the former year, Prince John, who had been disinherited by his father, received the earldom of Morton and lordship of Lancaster, along with other large estates, from his brother King Richard, who was then about to embark for the Holy Land; and in the latter year he forfeited those estates, by attempting to seize upon the crown, and by conspiring to retain his too generous brother a prisoner for life in the dungeons of Austria. It is not possible to fix the date of the original grant to Warine de Lancaster, but it is probable that it was about the time of the great council held at Northampton in the year 1176, at which the kingdom was divided into circuits, for the better administration of justice, and at which judges itinerant were ordered to travel regularly through the kingdom, at stated

periods, for the trial of offences.* In that year Lancashire was visited by the learned and warlike Sir Ranulf Glanville, the captor of the King of Scotland, the companion in arms of Richard the Lion-hearted, and not less the author of one of the earliest treatises on the laws of England, who held the first general gaol delivery, for the county of Lancaster, along with Robert de Wals, and Robert Pikenet, two other judges of less celebrity. In order to give greater effect to the administration of the laws, Lancaster Castle was made a prison for criminals about this time, and Warine de Lancaster was appointed governor of it. In that age the kings of England were much richer in land than in money, and were in the habit of rewarding their servants with grants of manors and estates, instead of salaries. This was done in the case of the governor of the Castle of Lancaster, who received Liverpool and other manors previously belonging to the royal demesne, as the reward of his services. All the circumstances attending this grant are stated very clearly in the following extract from an old book in the office of the Duchy of Lancaster:—

“England, in King Stephen’s time,” says the writer, “was constantly in troubles, and no laws executed; but each man lived de raptō, (by plunder and violence). After his death, King Henry the Second, coming to the Crown peaceably, had the laws put in better execution, and arranged that Justices Itinerant should see the same performed in each county, which were before only to be had at the King’s Court. And whereas, Gilbert, the Baron of Kendal, in Westmorland, being his receiver for the county of Lancaster, was called Gilbert de Furnesis: William, the son of the said Gilbert, was constituted Senescalus (steward) hospitii regis, and a Baron in Lancashire; and thereupon, by consent of Parliament, called himself William de Lancaster; and Warine, his younger son, Lancaster Castle being a prison for malefactors, was made keeper of the Castle and Prison, and as a Magister serviens, had his maintenance therein, and for the reward of his services had given him by the King, the towns of Aynolsdale, Ravenmeals, (now totally destroyed by the sea), LIVERPOOL, Liturland, and French Lea, from which his son was called Henricus de Lee; to whom King John, afterwards, IN LIEU OF HIS SURRENDER OF LIVERPOOL, WHICH HE FORTHWITH MADE A BOROUGH, confirmed the rest of the aforesaid towns, and also added English Lea to the same.”

The deed of John, Earl of Morton, confirming the grant to Warine de Lancaster, is still in the possession of the family of Sir Henry Bold Hoghton, Bart., of Hoghton Tower and Walton-le-Dale, one of whose

* T. H. Duffus’s Description to the Close Rolls, 94.

ancestors, Richard de Hoghton, married Sybilla, heiress of the De Lee or Fitz-Warine family, in the seventeenth year of Edward the Second. She took part of the estates granted by Henry the Second to Warine de Lancaster, into the Hoghton family, in whose possession they still remain. The documentary history of Liverpool commences with the record of this grant made by Henry the Second to Warine de Lancaster. The changes which have taken place in the ownership of the Lordship and Manor of Liverpool can thus be traced from before the commencement of legal memory, a period of upwards of six hundred and fifty years.

Every reader of history or romance is well acquainted with the story of the generous confidence of Richard the Lion-hearted in his unworthy brother; with the gallant exploits of that warlike king in the Holy Land; with his captivity in the prisons of Austria; and with the efforts of his brother to render that imprisonment perpetual. All the ingratitude which Richard had shown to his father, who died broken-hearted from the ingratitude and rebellion of all his sons, was visited on him by his brother. It is not, however, so well known that he succeeded in drawing several of the gentlemen on his Lancashire estates into his plots, and that when he was deprived of the earldom of Morton, and of the honour of Lancaster, his principal followers in Lancashire only saved their estates by paying heavy fines to the king. The following is a list of the fines paid by some of them to purchase the pardon of King Richard:—Henry Falconarius (Lord of Liverpool) 15 marks, equal to £150; Robert (Clergyman of Walton) 30 marks, equal to £300; Gilbert de Walton 10 marks, equal to £100; and Jordan de Manchester 20 marks, equal to £200.*

On the return of Richard from his captivity, all the lands and castles of his brother John were seized; and, although that unworthy Prince afterwards regained the favour of his brother, they were never restored to him during Richard's life. Instead of his estates, he received an annuity of £5,000 a year, a most liberal income in those times, when the pound was fifteen times as valuable as it is at present.

One fact worthy of notice in the account of the suppression of Prince John's attempted insurrection against his brother is, that there is a list given of his castles, as well those which surrendered without resistance as of those which were defended. The Castle of Lancaster is mentioned in this list along with those of Tickill, Marlborough, and St. Michael's Mount, Cornwall; but nothing is said of any castle at Liverpool, which creates a tolerably strong presumption that no such castle existed at that time.

* Pipe Roll, 6th Richard First.

CHAPTER THIRD.

LIVERPOOL FROM THE ACCESSION OF KING JOHN TO THE GRANTING OF THE SECOND CHARTER BY HENRY THE THIRD.

On the accession of King John to the throne of England, all the estates of the Crown passed into his hands, and, amongst them, those of the Honour of Lancaster, which he had held when he was Earl of Morton. Several deeds are still in existence, in which he confirms the principal tenants of the crown in Lancashire in their possessions; amongst others, the deed already referred to in favour of the Waltons of Walton. A similar deed was granted to Henry Fitz Warine, confirming him in the possession of the estates granted to his father, Warine de Lancaster, by Henry the Second. There was one exception, however, in this deed. The name of Liverpool was altogether omitted in it. This renders it probable that King John had already determined to take possession of Liverpool, and to form a port and borough there. Several circumstances confirm this opinion.

No member of the warlike house of Plantagenet was more eager to extend his dominions than King John, although his expeditions were badly planned, and rarely crowned with success. One of his favourite objects was to complete the Conquest of Ireland, which had been commenced in the time of his father. For this purpose it was desirable that he should possess a strong navy in the Irish Seas, and ports to shelter it on the western coast of England. Such ports would be doubly valuable if situated in the neighbourhood of the royal estates, from which the early kings drew a large portion of their supplies, for warlike purposes. Liverpool possessed both the advantages of a good port, and of a position in the midst of the royal estates. In the latter respect it was more conveniently situated than Chester, as the whole of the lands in Cheshire belonged to the Earls of Chester, and, therefore, yielded neither rents nor tallages to the crown. Liverpool was also favourably situated for shipping the forces of the De Lacy family, who took a very active part in the early wars of Ireland, and who, in the time of King John, were lords of the manors and chief proprietors in Knowsley, Huyton, Roby, Torbock, Little Crosby, Maghull, Kirkby, Great and Little Woolton, North Meols, Birkdale, and Kirkdale. They were, in short the great proprietors of Lancashire, after the Crown. The Butlers,

who were lords of Warrington, and who held the manors of Halsall, Ince Blundell, Thornton, Lydiate, and the half of Barton, also took an active part in those early wars; and the owner of Hale, bore the name of Mida or Meath, for his exploits in Ireland. King John was thus able to direct the whole force of South Lancashire into his Irish wars; and Liverpool was precisely the position to render it available. Immediately after obtaining the crown, he began to carry on those wars with increased activity, and to despatch large reinforcements from Lancashire. The drain on this county was so severe that several of the Thanets of Lancashire consented to pay a considerable sum of money, that they might not be compelled to serve beyond the sea.*

It also appears, from the sheriffs' accounts, preserved in the Pipe Rolls, that large sums of money were expended in the fourth year of King John, on his castles in West Derbyshire. A sum of twenty marks, equal to £200 of our money, and a second sum of £6 17s. 6d., equal to nearly £100 of the same money, were expended on those castles in the years named. These were sums large enough to construct considerable works at that time. We know that two of the arches of old London bridge were built, in this reign, for £25, equal to about £300 of our money, and they would probably cost as much as such a castle as that which existed at Liverpool.† It appears, from the account of offices under the Crown, given in Testa de Neville, that the master builder of the king's castles in Lancashire, as well as the joiners and the workers in iron, were paid by grants of land, and not in money. All the materials of the castle, with the exception of the iron, were furnished by the king's estates; and doubtless his bondsmen, in the surrounding manors, assisted in the work.

Another circumstance which confirms the belief that the Castle of Liverpool was built at this time, is the fact that the park of Toxteth, which was always attached to that castle, was certainly formed early in the reign of King John. This park was formed by enclosing the two manors of Toxteth, mentioned in Domesday Book, and a considerable portion of the manor of Smethom or Esmedune, also mentioned in that venerable record. We learn from Testa de Neville that King John bought the Toxteths from the Molyneux family, giving them in exchange another manor, which was probably that of Litherland.‡ In order to enlarge the park, he also bought the greater part of the manor of Smethom, from Robert de Smethom, giving him in exchange lands in Thingwall. The park, thus formed, contained upwards of two thousand acres, and was

* Pipe Roll, 3rd John.

† Maddox's Firma Burgi, 165.

‡ Testa de Neville. 402.

about five miles in circuit. It extended from the present Parliament-street, in Liverpool, as far as Otterspool, and was bounded on one side by the river, and on the other by Smethom-lane. It was originally enclosed with a wooden paling; but was afterwards surrounded with a stone wall. In former times this must have formed one of the most beautiful parks in the North of England, from the graceful undulations of the ground, the beauty of the dells and dingles, the numerous wooded promontories which project into the river, and the extensive views of the river itself. The Mersey spread before the park like a great lake, twenty miles in length, and, in some places, from three or four in breadth, with the Abbey of Stanlaw, the Priory of Birkenhead, and the Castle of Liverpool on its banks, the hills of Wirral in the foreground, and the line of Welsh Mountains in the distance. One small portion of this park still remains, which has been preserved by the generosity and public spirit of a man whose name will always be honoured in Liverpool,* from which we may form some faint idea of the scenery of Toxteth Park in the days of its glory.

Another reason for believing that the Castle of Liverpool was built about this time is, that King John himself visited Lancashire and Cheshire in the seventh year of his reign. He was at Lancaster on the 26th February, 1206, and at Chester on the 28th February following;† and would, in all probability, visit the royal estates in this neighbourhood, whilst passing from one place to the other.

The position of the Castle of Liverpool had some advantages as a place of strength. It stood where St. George's Church now stands, and included all the ground extending from St. George's Crescent on one side, to Preeson's Row on the other. When it was built, the ground was open on all sides, and sloped rapidly down to the river and the pool. The water thus approached it on three sides of the four, within little more than a bow shot, so that the fire from the castle commanded three-fourths of the circuit, and rendered it untenable by a besieging force. The form of the castle was nearly square. Each corner of the building had a circular tower, and the side which faced up the present Castle-street was strengthened by a much stronger tower and gatehouse. The front of the castle facing in that direction was thirty-six yards in breadth. That facing down Lord-street, where the castle orchard and gardens were situated, was thirty-six yards in breadth. The front facing towards the pool, where the quay and landing-place were situated, was thirty-seven yards in breadth; and that facing towards the present

* Richard Vaughan Yates.

† Calendar of King John's Movements in Introduction to the Close Rolls.

James-street was thirty-five yards. A covered way ran down to the river on that side, through which supplies could be introduced into the castle. The castle was surrounded by a ditch from twenty to thirty feet deep. With these defences it was as strong as most castles were at that time; and always afforded a place of refuge for the inhabitants of the town in turbulent times. The foundations of the castle still exist; and the outline of the ditch can be traced. The foundation of one of the circular towers was laid bare a few years since, and the old ditch was opened whilst digging the foundations of the North and South Wales Bank. Its depth was about twenty feet below the present level of the ground, and must have been much more before the brow of the hill was cut away. The castle itself was destroyed as a fortress, by order of Charles the Second, who did not like the spirit which the inhabitants of Liverpool had shown during the great civil war; and the ruins of the castle were swept away in the reign of George the First.

Before proceeding with the history of the town which sprang up around the Castle of Liverpool, it may be well to give an account of the sums of money which were expended in early times on the Castle. The first reference which is supposed to exist to this Castle is contained in the Pipe Roll, or Sheriff's Account of the Fourth of King John, about the time when Toxteth Park was formed, and just three years previous to the date of the first Charter of Liverpool. The entry is as follows:—
 “And in the works, (in operatione) of the Castle of West Derby, £6 11s. 8d., under the inspection of Henry de Travers and of Henry de Waletone. And in the works of the Castles of Lancaster and West Derby 20 marks, according to the letter of the king, and under the inspection of Walter de Parles and Henry de Hirst; and again, in the same works 28s., according to the letter of the king.” There is little doubt that the castle mentioned in the above extract was the Castle of Liverpool, of which Henry de Walton and other members of the same family were governors. We find the castle mentioned as the castle of the West Derby Hundred, in the Seventeenth year of the reign of King John, when an account is given of the expenditure of a large sum of money for the cost of provisioning it, for an expected siege. The Castle of West Derby, strictly so called, was a mere manor-house, not a fortress, and the latter sum must, therefore, have been expended on the Castle of Liverpool, which was the only place of strength in the hundred of West Derby. The jurors who inquired into the nature and extent of the property of Edward Earl of Lancaster, in the reign of Edward the First, reported as follows, respecting the Castle at West Derby:—“The

jurors declare that in the manor of West Derby there is a certain site of an ancient castle, where a chief manor house (*capitale messuagium*) stood, surrounded by a ditch, the herbage of which is worth four shillings, &c." And a few years later another jury report:—"And there is at West Derby the site of a certain ruined castle."

It is deserving of notice, that the sums of money expended on the castle mentioned in the earlier extracts, are all spoken of as having been expended *in operatione*, which may mean, either in building or repairing the castle; whilst the sums spent at a later period are spoken of as having been expended *in emendatione*, which can mean nothing but in repairs and improvements. The earlier sums are also spoken of as having been expended under the authority of orders from the king. Coupling this fact with the further facts of the granting of the first charter to Liverpool, by the same king, about three years afterwards; of his forming the park at Toxteth; and of his removal of the hundred courts from West Derby to Liverpool, there can be little doubt that these entries relate to the Castle of Liverpool. From the form of expression, the probability is, that they relate to the building of it.

The following is a list of the sums expended on the castle of Liverpool, during the reigns of the Plantagenet Kings, according to the accounts rendered by the Sheriffs of Lancashire to the Crown and the Dukes of Lancaster:—4th John, Works of West Derby Castle, £6 11s. 7d.; 4th John, Works of Castles of West Derby and Lancaster, 20 marks; 4th John, ditto, £1 8s.; for Repairs of the Castle of Liverpool—2nd Henry III., £5; 13th Henry III., £16; 19th Richard II., £2 2s. 8½d.; 1st Henry IV., £25 4s. 5½d.; 9th Henry IV., £8 4s. 2d.; 6th Henry V., £51 17s. 11½d.; 12th Henry VI., £38 8s. 6d.; 14th Henry VI., £20 1s. 0½d.; 15th Henry VI., £6 16s. 8d.; 18th Henry VI., £6 13s. 4d.; 22nd Henry VI., £8 13s. 0½d.; 24th Henry VI., £26 8s. 11d.; 35th Henry VI., £13 0s. 11d.; 37th Henry VI., £22 8s. 9d.; 38th Henry VI., £20 13s. 11d.; 39th Henry VI., £3 4s.; 8th Edward IV., £16 15s. 4d.; and 8th Edward IV., £12 9s. 8d.*

* In order to reduce the above sums to money of the present time, they must be multiplied by five, to account for the change in the value of silver. Those previous to the reign of Richard the Second must also be multiplied by three, on account of the greater weight of the pound (£) of silver at that time; and those subsequent to that date by two, on account of the same circumstance. The number of grains of standard silver in twenty shillings, or £1, in the first period, was 5,400; the number in the 3rd of Henry the Fourth, was 4,320; the number in the 9th of Henry the Fifth, was 3,600; the number in the 4th of Edward the Fourth, was 2,800. The subsequent course of depreciation was even more rapid; but I need not follow this part of the subject, at present, further than to state that the number of grains of silver at present in £1, is 1,745 and about a half. At the first period, the Cologne pound of silver of 12 ounces was coined into, or rather was computed at, 20s.; it is now coined into 66s., of which 4s. are retained as seignorage.

The year after King John visited Lancashire, he formally possessed himself of Liverpool by the following deed, in which it is stated that he had given English Lea, to Henry Fitz Warine, in exchange for Liverpool :—

“ JOHN, by the grace of God, &c., Know ye that we have granted, and by our present Charter have confirmed, to Henry Fitz Warine of Lancaster, the lands which King Henry, my father, gave to Warine, his father, for his services, to wit: Ravenesmoles, Ammolnesdal, and the French Lea, and eight-pence rent in the Borough of Preston, and the English Lea, WHICH WE HAVE GIVEN TO HIM IN EXCHANGE FOR LIVERPUL, and Uplitherland, which the aforesaid Henry, my father, had given with the aforesaid lands, to the aforesaid Warine, his father, AND WHICH THE SAID HENRY HATH REMISED TO US AND OUR HEIRS, To be holden to him and his heirs (on payment of) 20s. yearly, at the feast of St. Michael, for all service and exaction, saving to us and our heirs the wardships and marriages of the heirs of the said Henry, in manner as our ancestors used to have the same, when Warine, the father of the said Henry, did the service of a falconer to our ancestors. Wherefore, the aforesaid Henry, and his heirs after him, may have and hold the aforesaid lands, with all their appurtenances, of us and our heirs, by the aforesaid service in wood and plain, in ways and paths, in meadows and feedings, in moors and marshes, in waters and mills, and in pools, well and in peace, freely and quietly, peaceably and honorably, fully and entirely, in all places and things, with all liberties and free customs, to the aforesaid lands pertaining, as is aforesaid.

“ Witness,

“ WILLIAM, Earl Warenne,

“ WILLIAM, Earl of Derby,

“ S. DE QUENCY, Earl of Winchester,

“ WILLIAM BRUHERE,

“ GILBERT FITZ REINFARE (Reinfred),

“ THOMAS BASSET,

“ ALLAN BASSET,

“ ROBERT DE GROSELEY (Grezley),

“ WILLIAM DE CANTILUPE.

“ Given by the hand of HENRY DE WELLS, Archdeacon of Wells,

“ at Winchester, on the 28th day of August, in 9th year, &c.”

The above deed once more placed the manor of Liverpool in the hands of the Plantagenets ; and King John having obtained possession of it, did not lose a single day in raising the newly-acquired manor to the position of a free borough on the sea. The following is the brief but comprehensive charter, by which he conferred on Liverpool all the

privileges possessed by London, Bristol, Hull, Lynn, Southampton, Newcastle, and the other free boroughs upon the sea, or seaports of the kingdom :—

“ CHARTER OF KING JOHN.—The King, to all who may be willing to have Burgages, at the town of Liverpul, &c.—Know ye, that we have granted to all who shall take Burgages at Liverpul, that they shall have all liberties and free customs, in the town of Liverpul, which any free borough on the sea hath in our land. And we therefore command you that securely, and in our peace, you come there, to receive and inhabit our burgages. And in testimony hereof we send you these our letters patent. Witness, Simon de Pateshill. At Winchester, the 28th day of August, in the Ninth Year of our Reign. By Simon de Pateshill.”

The above charter entirely changed the position of Liverpool. It at once delivered its inhabitants from the jurisdiction of the hundred courts ; it gave them the privilege of choosing their own bailiffs ; it created local courts of justice ; and it freed the burgesses from the liability to pay the customs of the crown, either in the borough of Liverpool, or in any other royal borough throughout the kingdom. In fact, it granted every facility and advantage which it is possible to grant to the inhabitants of a commercial town. I shall describe the privileges conferred by this charter, and the subsequent charter of Henry the Third, more fully at the close of the present chapter, after having said a few words as to the site and position of the town thus brought into existence.

The original town of Liverpool was built under the protection of the castle, and extended along the brow of the hill on which Castle-street, the Town Hall, the Exchange Buildings, and Oldhall-street, are erected. A lofty cross, called the High Cross, stood near the present Town Hall, and at that point the main line of street was intersected by another line, extending from the river side to the Townsend Bridge, which crossed the pool, at the end of the present Dale-street. Banke-street was the ancient name of that part of this line which we now call Water-street ; the other portion of the street bore the name of the Dale-street, from leading down, with a rapid descent, into the dale in which the pool was situate. For several ages the chief population was confined to the brow of the hill along Castle-street and Oldhall-street. Dale-street was a sort of outskirt of the town, in which the Crosses and other county families had their mansions. All the land in the neighbourhood of these streets was let by the crown on burgage tenures, and there were originally, or at least at an early period,

one hundred and sixty-eight burgesses holding by these tenures, and transmitting their burgages from father to son. At that time the only method of becoming a burgess was to hold burgage land, but as the town extended, various means were discovered of adding to the number of burgesses.

At the time when the feudal system existed in all its rigour, and when no such thing as freehold land was to be found anywhere, burgage tenure was the easiest and most agreeable tenure by which men of moderate means could hold property. The consequence of this was, that many persons, unconnected with trade, possessed themselves of burgage land in Liverpool, and the other royal boroughs, built themselves mansions, and resided there from father to son, for many generations. Thus the Moores, of Moore Hall, settled in Liverpool in the time of King John, and remained there until the reign of Queen Anne. The Crosses, of Crosshall, in Dale-street, came somewhat later, but remained till nearly the same time. The Banistres came somewhat later than the Crosses. Other families followed. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, upwards of a dozen of the county families held burgage lands in Liverpool, independent of the Stanleys, Earls of Derby, who occasionally resided in their fortified tower on the banks of the river, and the Molyneuxes, who were hereditary governors of the castle. The two families, however, which most completely identified themselves with the town, were the Moores and the Crosses. There was scarcely a member of either family which did not hold the office of mayor; and we find the names of a great number of them as magistrates, farmers general of the royal rights, and in other offices of trust. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the Moores had bought upwards of thirty burgages in Liverpool, besides being possessed of large estates in Bootle, Kirkdale, and other neighbouring townships. Sir Edward Moore, who lived in the reign of Charles the Second, in his introduction to the Moore Rental, says to his son:—"In this town was your ancient house, called Moore Hall, together with the street it stood in. Of this mansion I find your ancestors possessed time out of mind, most of all of your deeds for your land and houses there being without date. Only one I find of John de la More, son of John de Mora, dated Anno Domini, 1200." A large proportion of the deeds formerly belonging to the Moore family are at present at Knowsley, the Liverpool estates of the Moore family having been purchased by the Earls of Derby. The oldest deed, with a date, in that collection, is one of 1311, in which William de

Castro grants a ridge or butt of land in Liverpool to William Walseman and his heirs ; but there are eight deeds in the collection without dates, and which appear to be of much greater antiquity, in one of which the name of Quinilda de Kirkdale is introduced. If she is the heiress mentioned in Testa de Neville, the deed must have been executed either in the reign of King John, or of his son Henry the Third.

The position of Liverpool was well chosen, not merely for the purposes of military defence and of commerce, but also for the health and enjoyment of its inhabitants. This is the case as to the whole of the ground on which both the old and the new towns are situated, with the exception of that part of them which is built upon the bed of the ancient pool, where a splendid natural harbour was destroyed to create building land of the worst description. With the exception of this district, both the old and the new towns of Liverpool have every advantage of position. The brow of the hill on which the castle was erected, and along which Castle-street and the other ancient streets of the town were afterwards built, is about fifty feet above the level of the Old Dock sill—that is above the level of the river ; and the slope of the ground on both sides of it is sufficient, with very moderate assistance from art, to render it dry and healthy. Beyond the bed of the pool the ground rises rapidly to the east, until it reaches an elevation of 230 feet at Edge-hill church, and 240 at Everton church, and a general elevation of about 200 feet along the eastern boundary of the modern borough. The ascent to the north and the south is more gradual, but an elevation of 50 or 60 feet is soon reached in either direction. The general form of the land on which the town is built is that of an amphitheatre of hills, with two depressions in their rise, the upper one caused by the ancient bed of the Mosslake, the lower by the bed of the pool. The bed of the Mosslake being at an elevation of 150 feet above the level of the river, has been easily and effectually drained ; but the land on the ancient bed of the pool, being little above the level of ordinary tides, and below the level of spring tides, can never be rendered as dry as is desirable for the purposes of health. If this pool had not been filled up, the docks of Liverpool would have been in the form of a semicircle, a segment of which would have run through the heart of the town, whilst the other portion of it would have extended along the bank of the river. This arrangement would have been most convenient for commerce, and equally conducive to the health of the inhabitants. Yet we ought not to blame those who committed this error too severely. They formed both the first and the second dock on the bed

of the ancient pool, and it was impossible at that time to foresee that a position which had not brought together more than 6,000 inhabitants during the first five hundred years of its existence as a borough and a port, would bring together 70,000 before the end of the next century, and 400,000 in another half century.

There is a tradition that when King John laid waste the manors of Toxteth and Smethom, he removed the inhabitants of those manors to Liverpool; and it is said that they formed the original population of the borough, along with the fishermen and boatmen of the river. This is not so improbable as it might appear in our times. The original population of most of the smaller boroughs of the crown must have been composed of the tenants of the royal estates, very few of whom were freemen. It was part of the policy of our early kings to render their boroughs populous and wealthy, by alluring population to them from all quarters. Even the villeins, or *nativi*, were very readily received, without any very particular inquiry as to where they came from; indeed, it was one of the laws of William the Conqueror, that every bondman, who remained unchallenged for a year and a day, in any city, or walled town, or royal castle, should be free from the yoke of bondage ever afterwards. The cities and towns of the kingdom were thus the means of creating a free population. In the neighbouring borough of Preston there was a local law, expressed in nearly the same words as the law of William the Conqueror which I have just referred to. It is a fact that we never hear of villeins or bondmen in Liverpool, after the period of King John's charter, although they are continually mentioned, during the next two centuries, in the accounts of the population of Everton, Great Crosby, and Wavertree.

In the year succeeding that in which King John granted the first charter to Liverpool, he ordered the hundred courts to be removed to Liverpool from West Derby, where they had been held from before the Norman conquest. This appears from the following extract from the sheriff's account, or Pipe Roll of the year 1208:—"And, in default of West Derby, which is removed to Liverpool, £8." As the £8 of King John was equal to £120 of Queen Victoria, the amount shows that the administering of justice was at that time a profitable affair for the crown. This and similar charges explain the reason why the barons of the kingdom, when they extorted Magna Charta, about seven years later, introduced into it the memorable clause, that justice should not be sold, or refused, or delayed to any one.

It appears from one of the Patent Rolls of the year 1207, that King John was about to set out for Ireland at the time when he granted the first charter to Liverpool. The fleet with which he made the voyage and transported his army, is said to have consisted of five hundred vessels. The greater part of these were merchant ships, for although King John had a few war galleys, which he kept at Portsmouth, yet the usual course was to impress all the shipping belonging to the different ports on the sea, for naval expeditions. It was by this means that he collected the great fleet of seven hundred ships, with which his admirals fought and gained the battle of Damme—the first great sea fight won by the English. It was by the same means that he collected a large fleet in the Irish seas, amounting, according to the Chronicles of the Kings of Man, to five hundred ships. We have no certain information as to whether this fleet sailed from Liverpool, but on its return from Ireland it approached within a few hours' sail of the port, having landed an army in the Isle of Man. According to the account of this army, given in the Chronicles of that island, it was commanded by a certain earl called Fulco, probably Fulco Fitz-Warin, the brother of Henry Fitz-Warin, of whom I have already spoken, and one of the ablest and most merciless of King John's generals. He is said to have laid waste the island for fifteen days. It appears from the sheriff's account for 1212, that considerable supplies were in that year sent out of Lancashire for Ireland, probably for the support of the army left there. They consisted of 117 quarters of wheat; 113 quarters of oats; 200 swine; 500 cheeses; 2 tuns of wine; and 1900 horse shoes, with nails. The cost of conveying these articles to Ireland was 70s., equal to about £50 of our money.

King John's enemies were at least as numerous as his neighbours. In the year following the expedition to Ireland, the sheriff charges the expense of a body of troops which passed through Liverpool on its way to Wales. This force consisted of 15 knights and 64 horsemen, with 466 foot soldiers and 96 pioneers, or, as they are called, carpenters, who accompanied the army to cut down the woods in the Welsh passes. This detachment was supplied with 400 swine and 100 cows for provisions, and with 200 axes and 250 spades for clearing the ground for the army. The Lancashire detachment only formed part of a very much larger army assembled at Chester, with which King John succeeded in fighting his way as far as the foot of Snowdon, though without gaining any permanent advantage.

The sheriffs' accounts for this reign throw great light on the state of prices at that time in this part of Lancashire.* The prices of grain do not differ much from those of the present day, except as relates to oats; the prices of cattle and sheep are very much lower, as was naturally to be expected in a thinly peopled pastoral country; and the price of salt was enormously dearer, being not less than £3 a quarter in modern money.

Mixed up with the warlike entries given above, there also appear in the sheriff's accounts various charges for the support of a large hunting establishment. Amongst them are the expenses of the master-huntsman and forty-nine men, with ten horses, two packs of dogs, fifty-two spaniels, two thousand hand-nets, and two hundred and sixty cocks—I suppose for cock-fighting. It appears from numerous entries in the Close Rolls that King John had his falcons and hounds in all parts of the kingdom. The above charges may probably have been for the hunting establishment, at his newly-formed park at Toxteth. The following orders from King John are specimens of the mandates which he sent to the sheriffs of different counties on the subject of his hawks and hounds:—"The King to John Fitz Hugh, &c. We send to you by William de Merc, and I de Erlham, three girefalcons, and Gibbun, the girefalcon, than which we do not possess a better, and one falcon gentle, commanding you to receive them and place them in the mewes, and provide for their food plump goats and sometimes good hens, and once every week let them have the flesh of hares, and procure good mastiffs to guard the mewes. And the cost which you incur in keeping those falcons, and the expenses of Spark, the man of W. de Merc, who will attend them with one man and one horse, shall be accounted to you at the Exchequer.—21st March, 16th John—Close Rolls, 192." The following is another specimen of these orders:—"The King to William de Pratell, and the bailiffs of Falk de Breaut of the Isle of Ely, greeting—We command you to find, out of the issues of the see of Ely, necessaries for Richard, the huntsman, who was with the Bishop of Ely, and for his two horses and four grooms; also, find for his fifteen grey-

* The following is a list of the prices at which various articles were supplied, both in the money of that time, and in that of the present day:—

		£	s.	d.			Present money.
SALT.....	60 qrs.	12	0	0 or 4s. 0d.	per quarter ..	equal to	£3 0 0 per quarter.
WHEAT....	240 qrs.	40	0	0 or 3s. 4d.	" ..	"	£2 16 0 "
BARLEY....	121 qrs.	15	2	6 or 2s. 6d.	" ..	"	£1 5 0 "
OATS.....	300 qrs.	15	0	0 or 1s. 0d.	" ..	"	£0 15 0 "
COWS.....	80	16	0	0 or 4s. 0d.	each ..	"	£3 0 0 each.
SHEEP	130	6	10	0 or 1s. 0d.	each ..	"	£0 15 0 each.
HERRINGS..	20,000	6	5	0 or 3s. 2½d.	per thousand.	"	£1 10 0 per thousand.

hounds, and twenty-one hounds de mota, their allowance of bread or paste, as they may require it, and let them hunt sometimes in the bishop's chase for the flesh on which they are fed.—13th March, 17th John.—Close Rolls, 253.”

So much for King John's hunting establishments, of which the one in Lancashire seems to have been amongst the largest and best appointed.

Before leaving the subject of Toxteth Park, it may be well to give the following additional notice of its formation, from the Close Rolls of the succeeding reign of Henry the Third.

“The king to the sheriff of Lancashire, greeting.—We command that without delay you inquire diligently, by discreet and legal men of your county, what is the value of the vill of Smethedon, which our Lord King John, our father, laid waste for a Haia of Toxtathe.” The answer to this mandate is given in the following entry in the sheriff's account:—“And, in the waste of the vill of Smethedon, which King John laid waste for a Haia of Toxtathe, 13s. 4d.”

In the sixteenth year of King John, the Castle of Liverpool was provisioned for a long siege, in the course of that memorable war in which the barons of the kingdom, assisted by the citizens of London, wrested from King John the liberties recognized in the Great Charter. Amongst the most important of these were the following:—That no extraordinary aid or tax should be imposed, without the assent of the national council. That justice should not be sold, refused, or delayed; that assizes for the purpose of administering justice should be held at fixed times and places; that no freeman should be arrested or imprisoned, or be deprived of his land, or be outlawed, or exiled, or in anywise proceeded against, unless by the sentence of his peers and the law of the land; that no freeman, or MERCHANT, or villein should be unreasonably fined for a small offence; that the first should not be deprived of his tenement, THE SECOND OF HIS MERCHANDISE, or the third of his implements of husbandry; that all MERCHANTS should have safety and security in going out of and coming into England, and also in staying and travelling in the kingdom, whether by land or by water, without any grievous imposition, and ACCORDING TO THE OLD AND UPRIGHT CUSTOMS, except in time of war, when, if any merchants belonging to an enemy's country should be found in the land, they should, at the commencement of the war, be arrested, without injury to their persons and property, until it should be known how the English merchants who happened to be in their land were treated there; if they were uninjured, the foreign merchants should

be equally safe in England. It will be seen from the above brief summary that not only were control of the public purse, personal freedom, and the right administration of justice, promised by the Great Charter, but that foreign merchants were promised liberal treatment in peace, just treatment in war, and freedom from all taxes except the ancient and upright customs of the kingdom. The Great Charter was thus a charter of commercial freedom, as well of personal liberty and legislative control; and the treatment which it guaranteed to the mercantile classes was not only just but liberal.

These great principles were not established without a desperate struggle. King John gave his formal assent to the great charter at Runnymede, near Windsor, on the 15th June, in the year 1215; but he was not a man to be restrained by an oath. In the following year he renewed the war, and pressed the barons so hard that they were compelled to call in the King of France and the Dauphin, to resist the swarm of foreign mercenaries whom John had collected under his standard. Amongst other places fortified by the king was the Castle of Liverpool, which received provisions for a long siege. The following are the articles charged for by the sheriff of Lancashire, in the 16th and 17th King John:—240 quarters of wheat; 121 of barley; 300 of oats; 60 quarters of salt; 80 cows; 130 sheep, and 20,000 herrings. There is no record of an actual siege at Liverpool, and it is probable that none took place; for in the year in which the supplies were furnished, and in the midst of the struggle between the king and his barons, he was seized with sudden illness, and died at Newark Castle, from a fever, caused partly by excess in eating, partly by fury of mind, produced by the loss of the treasures and the baggage of his army, in crossing the Wash, on his march from Lynn into Lincolnshire. The death of King John gave the barons and citizens of London all the advantages of a complete victory, and secured the triumph of many of the most valuable principles of the English Constitution.

On the accession of Henry the Third, the son of King John, at the age of eleven years, the government of the kingdom passed into the hands of a council of Barons, of whom William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, a man of distinguished wisdom and patriotism, was appointed chief, with the title of Governor of the King and Kingdom—Rector Regis et Regni. The Honour of Lancaster, including the Borough of Liverpool, was managed during the minority of the young King, by Ranulf de Blundville, the most powerful of the Earls of Chester. Jordan, the son of Roger,

afterwards acted as Custos, until the tenth year of the young king's reign. We learn, from the Pipe Roll, or Sheriff's account of Henry the Third, that the income of the Honour of Lancaster at that time was £200 a year, equal to about £3,000 a year of our money. This may appear a small sum for so vast an estate, but it must be remembered that cultivation was extremely rude; that there were scarcely any towns in Lancashire, and that those which did exist were small and poor. The income of the great Earldom of Chester did not amount to more than £250 per year, or about £3,750 of our money. It was only in the south of England, where the towns and cities were large and prosperous, and where the land was comparatively well cultivated, that the incomes of even the highest of the nobility were larger. The income of the Earldom of Gloucester, which included the cities of Bristol and Gloucester, and many of the finest manors on the banks of the Severn, amounted to £723 1s. 2d., or about £10,845 per year of our money, in the thirty-first year of Henry the Second. This was probably the most valuable private estate in the kingdom at that time.

To return to the Honour of Lancaster. In the tenth and eleventh years of the reign of Henry the Third, William de Ferrers, Earl of Derby, who had married Agnes, one of the sisters of the Earl of Chester, held the office of Custos. Adam de Yoland, afterwards held it during the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth years of the same king's reign. All these successive representatives for the Crown were very active in raising tallages or taxes from the king's manors, in addition to the ordinary rents. They also succeeded in greatly extending the cultivation of the waste lands on the royal estates, and in otherwise increasing their value. One reason why they were able to effect this was, that many of the most oppressive clauses of the forest laws, which rendered cultivation nearly impossible in the neighbourhood of the royal forests, were repealed by the Earl of Pembroke, and that nearly the whole of the lands which had been turned into forest during the reigns of Henry the Second and his sons, Richard and John, were disforested. The charter of the forest, granted during the minority of Henry the Third, was a worthy supplement to the great charter which the Barons had won from King John at Runnymede. It was equally favourable to the owners and the cultivators of the soil.

In the sixth of Henry the Third, a tallage was levied on the borough of Liverpool, and on all the king's manors, which yielded the following sums:—

Liverpool, 5 marks, equal to £50; Crosby, 5 marks, equal to £50; West Derby, 1 mark, equal to £10; Everton, 1 mark, equal to £10.

In the eleventh year of the reign of Henry the Third, another general tallage was raised, when the payments of the three Lancashire Boroughs were as follows :—

Preston, 15 marks, equal to £150 ; Lancaster, 13 marks, equal to £130 ; Liverpool, $11\frac{1}{2}$ marks, equal to £115.

Some of the payments from the rural manors of the county were as follows :—

West Derby, 7 marks, 4s. 6d., equal to £70 ; Everton, 5 marks, 2s., equal to £50 ; Great Crosby, 8 marks, 5s., equal to £80.

Such was the position of Liverpool and of the neighbourhood in the eleventh year of Henry the Third.

In the thirteenth year of that king's reign, he granted a second Charter to Liverpool, confirming in detail all the privileges granted by his father, King John, and making Liverpool a free borough for ever. The following is a copy of it :—

“ Henry, by the grace of God, King of England, Duke of Normandy and Aquitain, Earl of Anjou, to the archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, earls, barons, justiciaries, sheriffs, reeves, ministers, and to all his bailiffs and faithful people, greeting, Know ye that we have granted, and by this our charter do confirm, that our town of Liverpool shall be a free borough for ever, and that the burgesses of the same borough may have a guild merchant, with a hanse and other liberties, and free customs to that guild pertaining, and that no one that shall not be of that guild shall traffic in any merchandise, unless by the consent of the same burgesses ; also, we have granted to the same burgesses and their heirs, that they may have soc and sac and tol and thame and infrangenethef, and that they shall be quit throughout our whole realm and throughout all the ports of the sea of toll, lastage, passage, pontage, and stallage, and that they shall do no suit of county courts, or wapentake courts, for their tenures which they hold within the borough aforesaid ; also, we have granted to the same burgesses and to their heirs, that whatsoever merchants shall come to the borough aforesaid, with their merchandizes of whatsoever place they may be, whether foreigners or others, who shall be in our peace, or shall come into our realm by our license, may safely and securely come to our aforesaid borough with their merchandizes, and there safely dwell, and thence safely depart, rendering therefore the right and due customs. Also, we forbid that any one shall do injury, damage, or grievance to the aforesaid burgesses, upon forfeiture to us of ten pounds ; wherefore we will and firmly command that the aforesaid town of Liverpool be a free

borough, and that the aforesaid burgesses may have the aforesaid guild merchant, with an hanse, and other liberties and free customs to that guild pertaining, and that they may have all other liberties and free customs and acquittances as is aforesaid, these being witnesses—

“ H. DE BURGH, Earl of Kent, Justiciary of England,

“ PHILIP DE ALBANY,

“ RALPH FITZ NICHOLAS,

“ NICHOLAS DE MOELES,

“ JOHN son of PHILIP,

“ GEFREY DISPENSAR, and others.

“ Given by the hand of the Venerable Father R Bishop of Chichester, our chancellor, at Merleberge, the 24th day of March, in the thirteenth year of our reign.”

When Liverpool received the above charter, and that of King John, nearly all the principal towns in the kingdom were the property of the crown. This was the case, amongst others, with London, Winchester, York, Lincoln, Bristol, Gloucester, Lynn, Hull, Southampton, Newcastle-on-Tyne, and upwards of thirty ports, with at least as many inland towns. It was a favourite object of the able princes of the Norman and Plantaganet lines to create boroughs, cities, and ports on the sea, on their vast estates, in all parts of the kingdom. In order to effect this object, they granted to the manors which seemed likely to become populous and prosperous the privileges of free boroughs. Those privileges consisted chiefly in the following points:—

First, the parties who took burgages, or small portions of land, on which they built houses in the royal boroughs, were exempted from the payment of the principal manorial and regal rights, both in the boroughs in which they resided, and in all the other royal boroughs of the kingdom. Thus, for instance, the burgesses of Liverpool, after receiving the above charter, could not only buy and sell whatever merchandise they thought fit in the port of Liverpool, without paying any dues to the Crown, but they could do the same in all the other cities, ports, and free boroughs in the kingdom. The dues paid to the Crown, and which formed part of the jura regalia, were at that time the only regular and permanent taxes on commerce. The tallages and parliamentary grants, which were occasionally levied, were rather property taxes imposed for a short time, and for a specific purpose, than taxes upon trade and commerce. It is impossible to conceive a more perfect freedom with regard to trade and commerce than that which was given by the Crown to the burgesses in

the royal boroughs. The value of these privileges was so great that persons residing within royal boroughs, but on land which did not belong to the Crown, and which therefore did not confer the rights of a burgess, were willing to buy those rights for a considerable sum; thus, David Le-Tincter, or David the Dyer, gave King John a sum equal to £10 of our money, to have his house, in Carlisle, made a burgage tenement. These rights were strictly confined to the king's tenants—the holders of burgage lands. All non-burgesses were liable to pay the ancient rights of the Crown, and have paid them in London, Bristol, Liverpool, and numerous other places, from the earliest periods to the present time. Even before the Norman Conquest, the Kings of England collected, in right of their prerogative, a duty equal to about one shilling a ton of our money, on every ton of goods disposed of in the port of Chester; and at the time when Domesday Book was drawn up, the customs of towns formed a considerable item in the royal revenues. It was in some cases as great as the land gable or ground rent of the land on which the towns were built. The town dues of the present time are the remains of these ancient rights of the Crown. The earls and barons of the kingdom granted similar privileges to the tenants in their own boroughs. Thus, Thomas de Gresley, in his charter of 1301, granted precisely the same privileges of buying and selling to his burgesses of Manchester, as King John and King Henry the Third had granted to their burgesses of Liverpool nearly a century before. He did not extend these privileges to strangers trading there. On the contrary, all men of "another shire" were declared to be liable to pay tolls to the lord of the manor, and were heavily fined if they attempted to evade them. In principle there was little if any difference between the charters granted by earls and barons to the burgesses of their towns and those granted by the kings to theirs; but in practice the difference was very great, for a charter granted by an earl or baron gave no privileges beyond the estate of the granter; whilst a charter granted by a king made every burgess to whom it was granted free to trade, without the payment of customs, in every city and large town in the kingdom.

Another privilege conceded in the charters granted to the royal boroughs was, that of trying offences committed within the bounds, in courts situated within the borough. They thus escaped the necessity of having recourse to the courts of the hundred or the county, and also escaped the paying of the enormous fees and fines which the Crown levied in those courts.

A third privilege conferred by these charters was, that of electing their own sheriffs, mayors, and bailiffs, by whom they were governed, instead of being governed by the bailiffs of the Crown. Liverpool was governed by its own bailiffs from the time when it obtained its first charter; and by its own mayor and bailiffs from the reign of Edward the Third.

These three great points of freedom of buying and selling at home and abroad, of administering justice by means of local courts, and of governing themselves by means of municipal officers of their own choosing, were the three great means which the early kings of England used for bringing trade and commerce to the Royal Boroughs. They were in general effectual in doing so. They were also the means of creating and strengthening public opinion in all parts of the kingdom, and of training the people to habits of self-government.

The following is the meaning of the old Saxon and Gothic words used in this and similar charters:—*Commercial Terms*—A guild merchant was an association or company of merchants, united for mutual assistance and protection. A hanse was also an association of merchants; but one formed for the purposes of foreign commerce. Free customs was freedom from the ancient customs of the crown. Thol signified liberty of buying and selling. Freedom from Thelonium was freedom from dues and market tolls; lastagium, from a duty of so much per last, levied on heavy goods; passagium from passage or ferry rate; pontageum from bridge rates, and stallageum from dues on stalls erected in markets and fairs. *Administration of Justice*—Freedom from suit and service in county and wapentake courts was freedom to manage their own local affairs, without foreign interference. Soc signified the power, authority, and liberty to administer justice. Sac was a royalty or privilege, which a lord of the manor claimed to have in his own courts, of holding pleas amongst his tenants and vassals; thame was a right of trying bondmen; and infrangenethef was a right of trying thieves taken—fangen, within the jurisdiction.*

On the 25th of March, the day following the grant of the above charter, the king granted a lease of the royal rights in the Borough of Liverpool to the men of Liverpool, by the following lease:—

“HENRY, BY THE GRACE OF GOD, KING OF ENGLAND, &c.—To the sheriff and all his bailiffs of the county of Lancaster, greeting,—

* See *Blount's Dictionary* for all these words, and *Maddox's Firma Burgi*, for a fuller explanation of the commercial terms.

Know ye, that we have granted to our honest men of Liverpool our town of Liverpool, to be held at farm, from the feast of St. Michael, in the thirteenth year of our reign, unto the end of four complete years, rendering therefore unto us in each of the aforesaid years, at our Exchequer, by the hands of the Sheriff of Lancaster, at two terms, £10; to wit: at Easter, in the thirteenth year of our reign £5, and at the feast of St. Michael, in the same year £5, and so from year to year, at the same terms, £10 as is aforesaid. In witness whereof we have caused these our letters hereof to them to be made patent.—Witness ourselves, at Marlborough, the 25th day of March, in the same year of our reign.”

The rent of £10 a year at that time was equal to about £150 of our money. There is no statement of the precise sources of income, which were to be held at farm for this payment, but they no doubt consisted of the reserved rights which the kings retained in all the free boroughs of the kingdom, and which formed a very considerable item in the receipts of the Exchequer.

Before closing the account of the early Charters of Liverpool, and of the position of the new borough at the time when they were granted, it may be well to show the position of the principal cities and towns of the kingdom about the same period. As nearly the whole of the cities and towns were the property of the crown, a very good test is furnished of their comparative position, by the amount of the yearly rents which they yielded to it.* These rents were in part derived from the ground rents of the burgage lands; in part from the tolls on trade and commerce; in part from the profits of the royal mills; in part from the fees and fines of the

* The following are the amounts yielded by the fee farm rents of London, and of the other principal cities and towns of the kingdom, at about the same time. They are made up from the Sheriffs' accounts for the different counties of England, in the years mentioned in the table:—

£	s.	d.	EQUAL TO	£	s.	d.	EQUAL TO		
London	300	0	0	£4500, 11th Rich. 1st.	Cambridge.	40	0	0	£600, 2nd Hen. 3rd.
Bristol	244	0	0	3675, 11th Hen. 3rd.	Chichester.	38	10	0	600, 15th Hen. 3rd.
Southampton.	200	0	0	3000, 4th Edw. 6th.	Ipswich	35	0	0	500, 2nd Hen. 3rd.
Lincoln.	180	0	0	2700, 2nd Hen. 3rd.	Huntingdon.	35	0	0	500, 2nd Hen. 3rd.
York	160	0	0	2400, 16th John.	Oxford	30	0	0	450, 56th Hen. 3rd.
Winchester	142	12	4	2139, 26th Hen. 2nd.	Westcumb.	22	0	0	300, 7th Rich. 1st.
Godmanchester.	120	0	0	1800, 2nd Hen. 3rd.	Shrewsbury	20	0	0	300, 2nd Hen. 3rd.
Norwich	108	0	0	1600, 13th Edw. 1st.	Lyme	20	0	0	300, 5th Edw. 3rd.
Chester	100	0	0	1500, 25th Rich. 2nd	Dorchester	20	0	0	300, 21st Hen. 7th.
Andover	80	0	0	1200, 2nd Rich. 2nd	Helleston.	20	marks		200, 2nd Rich. 2nd.
Yarmouth	55	0	0	750, 9th John.	Appleby	15	0	0	200, 5th Hen. 3rd.
Newcastle-on-					Bedwin	11	0	0	160, 18th Edw. 1st.
Tyne	50	0	0	754, 3rd John.	Bala.	10	12	0	160, 5th Edw. 3rd.
Bedford.	42	0	0	600, 22nd Hen. 2nd.	Liverpool.	10	0	0	150, 14th Hen. 3rd.
Hereford.	40	0	0	600, 8th Hen. 4th.	Bridgenorth.	10	marks		100, 18th Edw. 2nd.

courts of justice; and from various other sources, which will be mentioned when I come to speak of the leases of the fee farm of Liverpool. They rose, fell, or remained unaltered, according to the position of the various towns. In London and Bristol, York and Lincoln, Southampton and Winchester, the payments were equal to from £2,139 to £4,500, in our present money. In smaller places, though of some standing, they were of the value of as many hundreds. In places of a still smaller class, such as Liverpool then was, they did not produce more than from £100 to £200 of the money of the present day. As I have mentioned £10 of the money of Henry the Third, which is equal to £150 of the money of this age, was the amount which the "honest men" of Liverpool agreed to pay to Henry the Third, in the year 1229, as a fee farm rent, for all the royal rights in the borough of Liverpool.

It will be seen that the table in the subjoined note confirms the account which I have given in the first chapter of this work, of the manner in which the commerce of England was distributed in early times. In those ages seaports did not owe their importance (such as it was) to manufactures, for nothing deserving the name of manufactures existed in any part of the kingdom, but to the quantity of agricultural and pastoral produce which each district supplied, beyond what was required for the wants of its inhabitants. The great export of the kingdom, as I have already said, was wool; and skins and hides formed the next. Grain was never sent out of the country without the royal permission, which was rarely given. Parties exporting it illegally were punished with the greatest severity. The first complete account which we possess of the exports of England gives their total value at £212,338, equal to about £3,187,070 of our present money. Of this amount, £195,978, equal to £2,939,670, consisted of wool and skins, and the rest of the amount of coarse manufactures of wool and worsted. Probably the only point in which the exports of the reign of Henry the Third differed from those of Edward the Third, was, that the quantity of wool exported was somewhat less in the former, and that no manufactures were exported at that early period. There is not, in the reign of King John or Henry the Third, evidence of the export of any thing but wool, except in the case of a small quantity of grain exported from Yarmouth to Flanders, which drew down a heavy fine on the inhabitants of that enterprising and industrious port. As relates to wool, it appears that both King John and his son, Henry the Third, were extensively engaged in the trade. It also appears that the Knights of the Temple, and the heads of various monasteries, united the risks of wool

dealing to their religious and warlike cares. These transactions of the kings account for the entry in the calendar of the Patent Rolls of various large sums of gold and silver received from abroad, chiefly from Germany. As far as we have the means of judging, there was always a very large balance of trade in favour of England, which was paid in silver. In the year 1354, the total value of the imports of the kingdom is given at £38,383 16s. 10d., equal to £545,756 of modern money, whilst that of the exports amounted to £212,331 5s., equal to £3,184,968. If these accounts are correct, or if they at all approach correctness, the balances due to the kingdom on commercial account were very large. Doubtless, a large portion of these amounts were wasted in the long and destructive wars which Edward the Third waged on the continent. The same observation applies to the times of King John, and of all the early Henrys and Edwards. They were seldom at peace with their neighbours for more than a few years together; and though there was a steady increase of national wealth from the time of the Norman Conquest to the accession of the Tudors, and has been a rapid one ever since, yet the rate of increase was greatly retarded both by civil strife and external war. The civil strife may have been worth all the sacrifices which it entailed, for out of the confusion of the reigns of King John and Henry the Third arose many of the noblest principles of British freedom. The foreign wars, though full of brilliant events, and though they placed England in the first rank of the warlike nations of Europe, were as wasteful and unprofitable as such wars usually are.

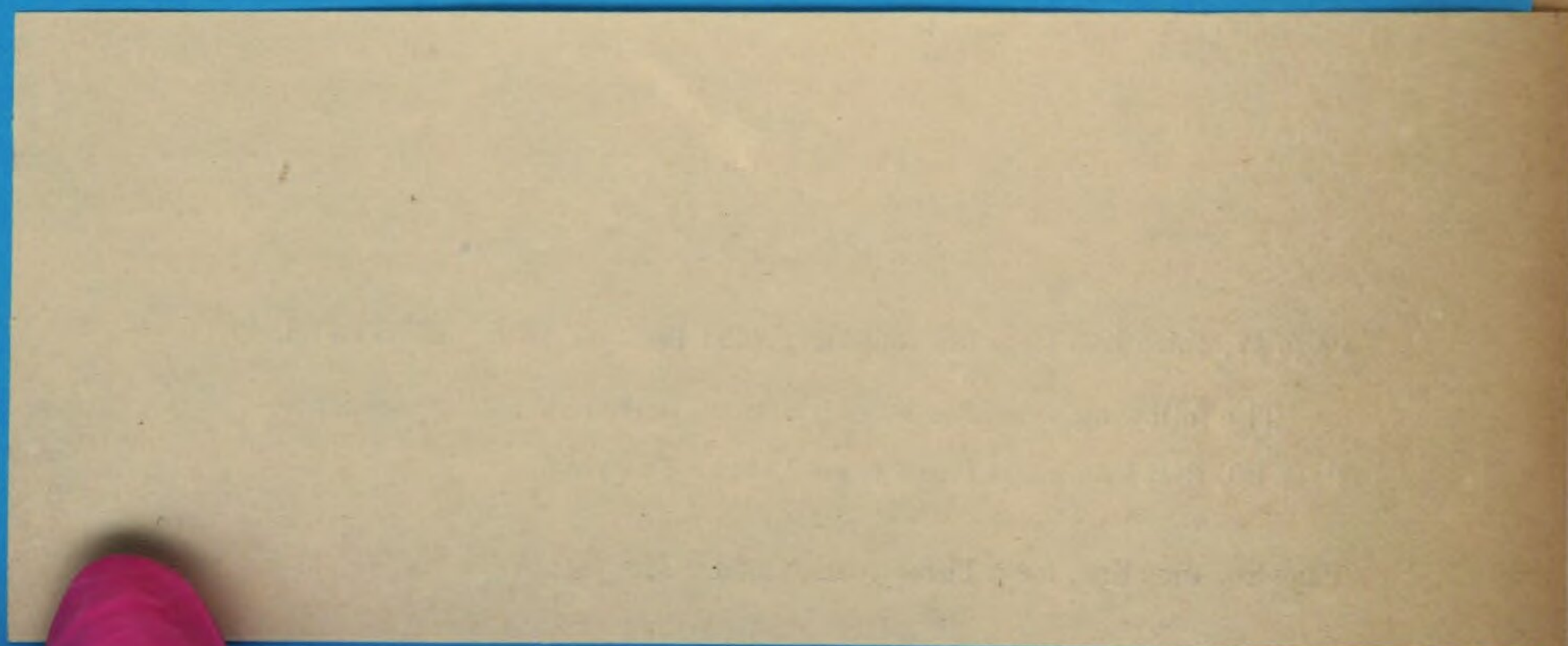
I now proceed to trace the History of Liverpool from the time of the granting of its most valuable Charters to the time when the Commerce of the Port began to develop itself vigorously; accompanying the sketch of the rise of the Port with a sketch of the rise of industry in the surrounding districts.

E R R A T A.

Page 47, third line from the top, for " £232 19s. 9d.," read " £388 6s 3d."

The following appeared in only a small portion of the impression:—

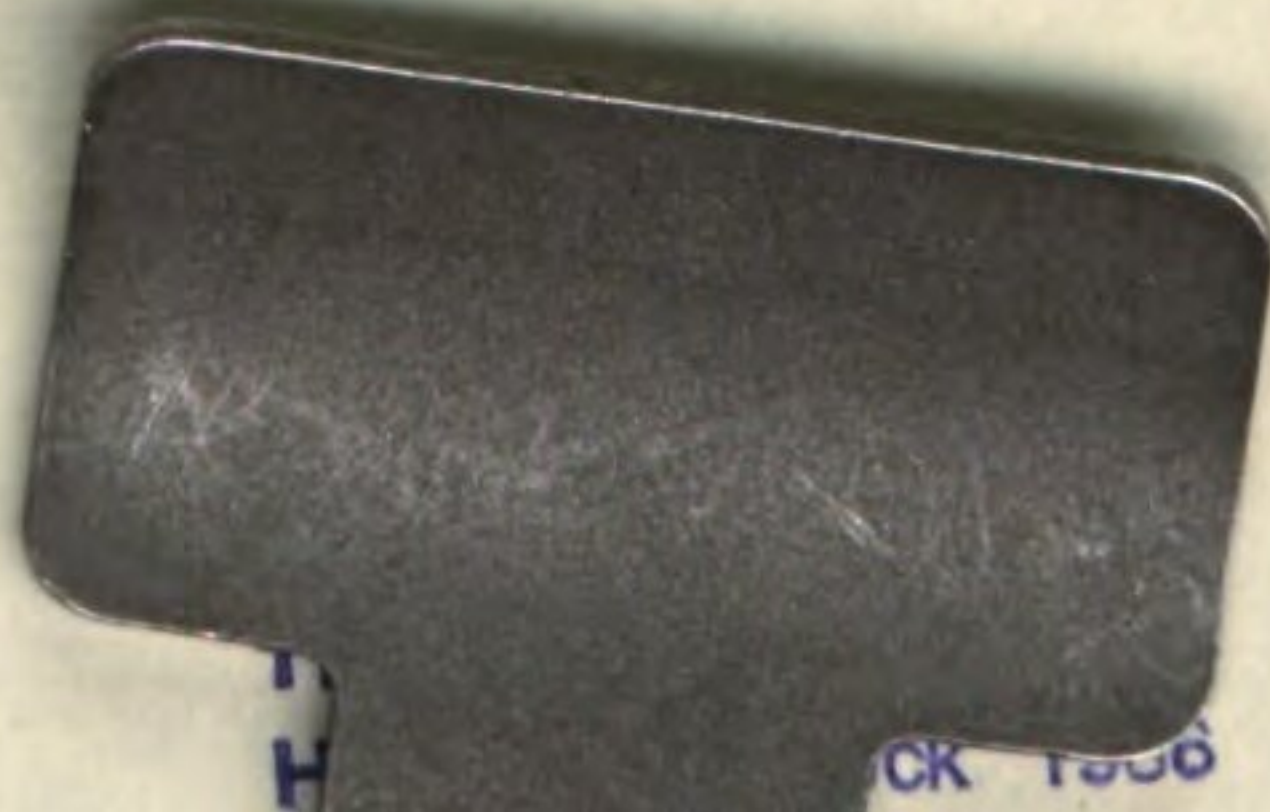
Page 80, first line, for " Three years," read " The year."



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Baines, Thomas,

History of the commerce and town of Liverpool, and of the rise of
manufacturing industry in the adjoining counties

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London ; Liverpool 1850

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